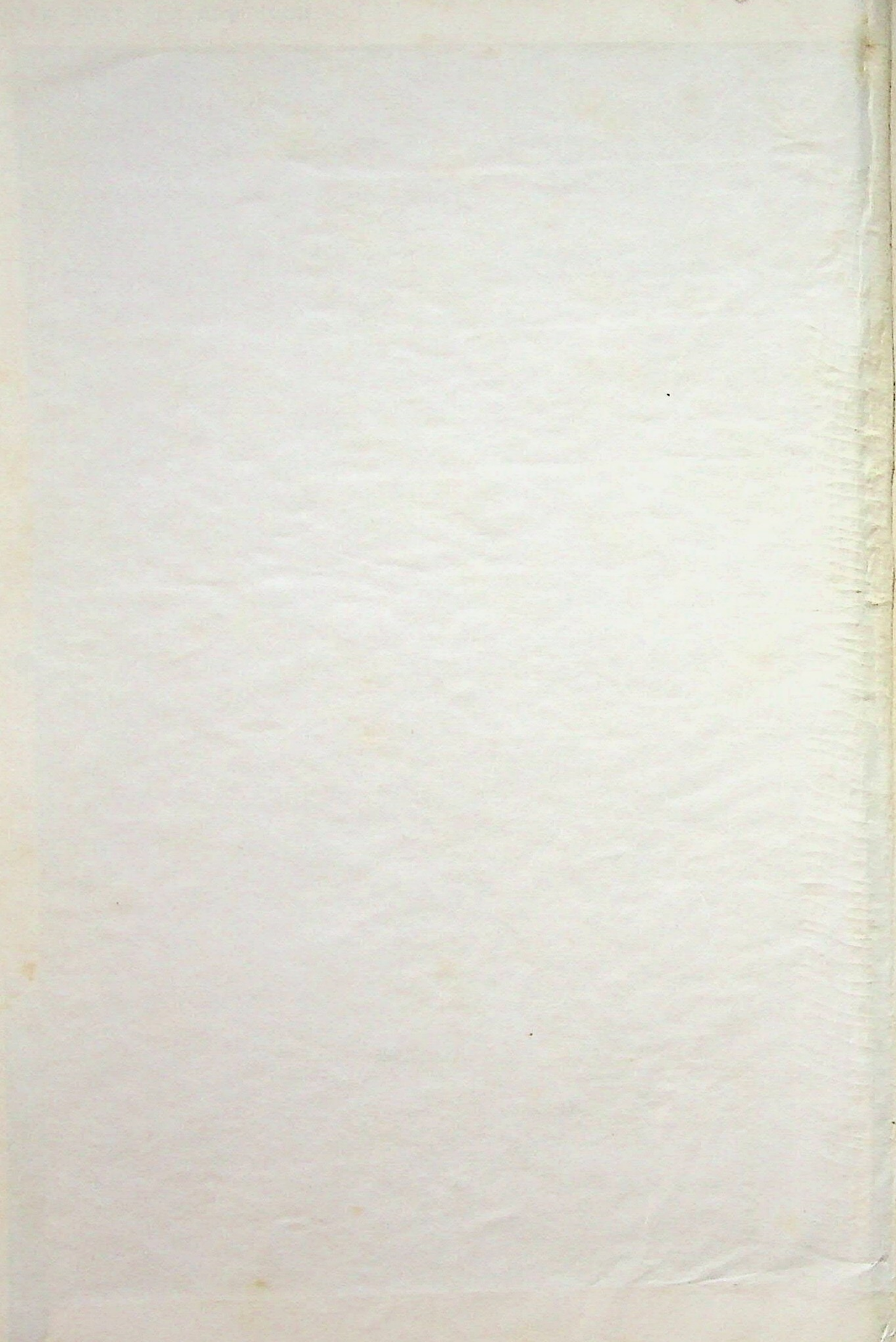
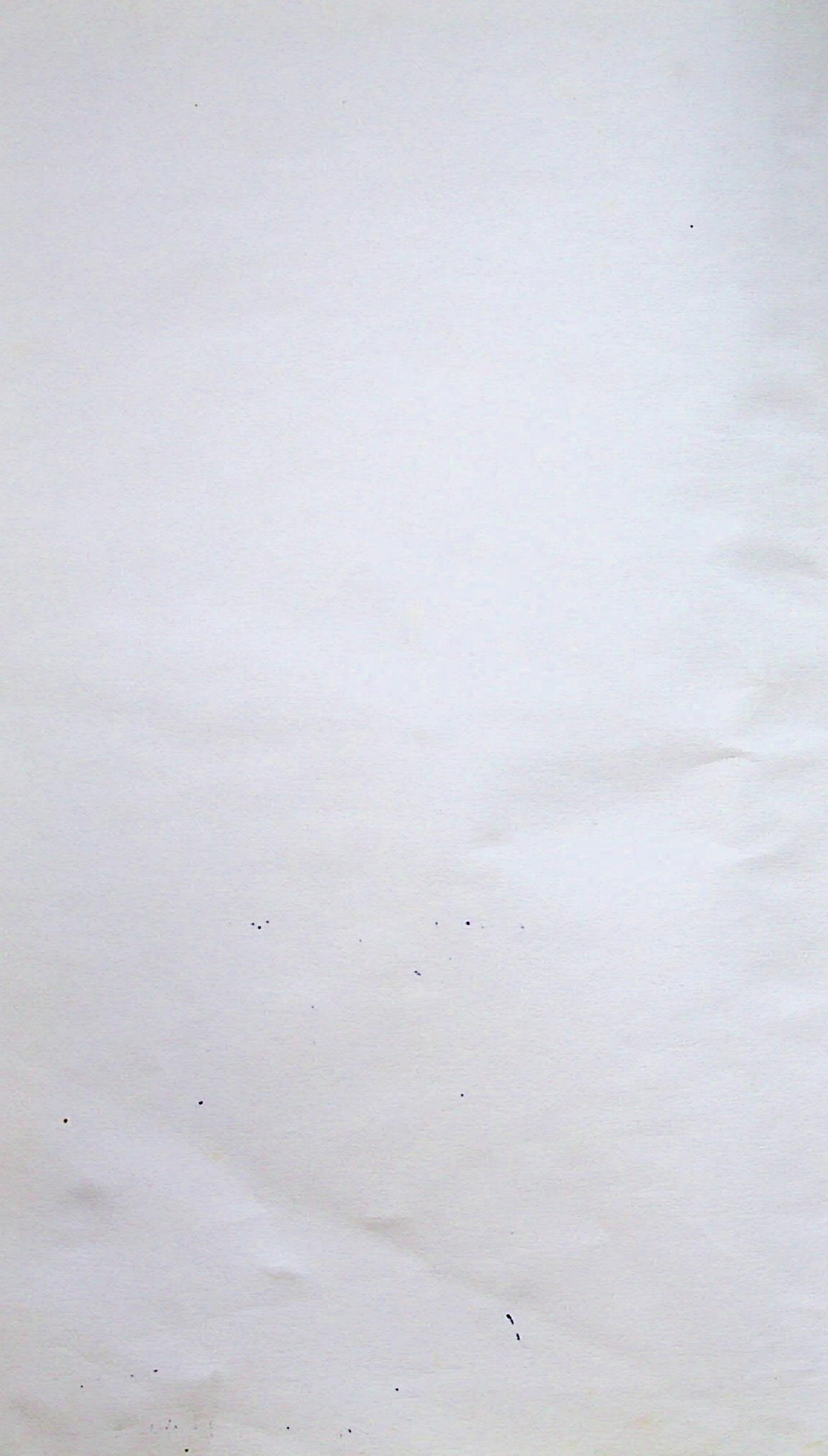
STUDIES IN KASHMIRI LINGUISTICS

Omkar N Koul





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IILS

Indian Institute of Language Studies

Studies in Kashmiri Linguistics

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First published 2005

Published by:
Indian Institute of Language Studies
C-13, Greenview
33, Sector 9 Rohini, Delhi 110085
www.iils.org

ISBN 81-86323-20-1

Printed by : Radha Press
2465 Main Road, Kailash Nagar,
Delhi- 110031

Preface

There is a continuous interest in the study of various linguistic and sociolinguistic aspects of Kashmiri. The tradition of presenting grammatical sketches and descriptions began in the mid of nineteenth century. Modern works on the subject commenced in the sixties and continue till date following different linguistic models. Besides linguistic studies, pedagogical materials have been prepared for learning Kashmiri as a second/foreign language. Kachru (1969, 1973) provides a grammatical description of Kashmiri, and instructional materials with notes. In his papers, he has also described certain grammatical and sociolinguistic aspects of the Kashmiri language.

Koul (1977) deals with some grammatical, sociolinguistic, and lexical aspects. Hook and Koul have jointly worked on various grammatical aspects like word-order, pronominal suffixes, ergativity, transitivity, causatives, modal verbs, etc. at length. Koul and Hook (eds.1984) presents papers dealing with grammar contributed by various scholars. Hook and Koul (forthcoming) deal with the grammatical structure of Kashmiri in detail. Koul (1985,1987,1994) provides notes on grammar and culture in the instructional materials for learning Kashmiri as a second/foreign language.

Wali and Koul (1997) provide a detailed description of Kashmiri grammar covering phonology, morphology and syntax. In recent years, quite a few doctoral dissertations, and papers Kashmiri contributed by various scholars have appeared in journals in India and abroad. Most of these are listed in Koul (2000, revised 2004).

Koul and Wali (eds.2002) include papers devoted to various syntactic aspects of Kashmiri. The topics covered are related to some important linguistic characteristics of Kashmiri such as word-order, wh-questions, clitics or pronominal suffixes, significance of topic in a V2 language, case marking, ergativity, transitives and causatives, semantico-syntactic aspects of certain verbs etc. These papers are contributed by Kashi Wali, Peter Edwin Hook, Ashok K Koul, Achla Misri Raina, Estella Del Bon, and Omkar N Koul. Koul and Wali (2005) have described phonology, morphology and syntax of Kashmiri from pedagogical point of view. In a chapter on lexicon, they provide classified vocabulary of Kashmiri.

The present volume includes some of my revised and new papers related to the topics of linguistic structure and sociolinguistic aspects of

Kashmiri. The topics deal with the structure of the Kashmiri language, language and society, personal names, kinship terms, modes of greetings, modes of address, lexical borrowings, and standardization of script.

I hope that these papers will stimulate further research interest in Kashmiri language and linguistics. Linguists, language teachers of Kashmiri, and researchers in South Asian languages particularly in Kashmiri will find this book useful.

Omkar N Koul

Transcription

Vowels	Front Unrounded		Central		Back Rounded	
High	i	i:	ɨ	ɨ:	u	u:
Mid	e	e:	ə	ə:	o	o:
Low			a	a:	ɔ	ɔ:

Consonants	Bil.	Dent.	Retro.	Pal.	Vel.	Glo.
Stops:						
vl. unasp	p	t	ṭ		k	
vl. asp	ph	th	ṭh		kh	
vd. Unasp.	b	d	ḍ		g	
Affricates:						
vl. unasp.		ts		c		
vl. asp.		tsh		ch		
vd. unasp.				j		
Nasals:	m	n				
Fricatives:						
vl.		ṡ		š		h
vd.		z				
Lateral:		l				
Trill:		r				
Semi-vowels	v			y		

Nasalization of vowels is indicated by the nasal sign˜ over the vowels. The palatalization of consonants is indicated by an apostrophe sign after the consonantal letter: p', b', etc.

Abbreviations

1st	first person
2nd	second person
3rd	third person
abl	ablative case
adv	adverb
asp	aspirated
aux	auxiliary
bil	bilabial
caus	causative
cond	conditional
cor	correlative
cp	conjunctive participle
dat	dative
den	dental
erg	ergative
fpl	feminine plural
gen	genitive case
glo	glottal
hon	honorific
imp	imperative
impf	imperfective
indef	indefinite
inf	infinitive
IP	indefinite past
mpl	masculine plural
ms	masculine singular
neg	negative
nom	nominative
pal	palatal
pass	passive
pl	plural
poss	possessive
postp	postposition
pro	pronoun
prox	proximate
pr	present participle
ps	pronominal suffix
pst.ptc	past participle
ptc	participle
q	question particle
refl	reflexive
rel	relative
ret.	retloflex
rp	remote past
R.I	remote I
R.II	remote II
sg	singular
unasp	unaspirated
vel.	velar
vd	voiced
vl	voiceless
voc	vocative

Contents

The Kashmiri Language

1. Introduction

1.1. Area and Speakers

The Kashmiri language is called *kə:šur* or *kə:šir zaba:n* by its native speakers. It is primarily spoken in the Kashmir Valley of the state of Jammu and Kashmir in India. According to the 1981 census there were 30,76,398 speakers of the language. The census was not conducted in the year 1991 and 2001. Keeping in view the rise of the population over last many years, the current number of its speakers will be around four million. Kashmiri is also spoken by Kashmiris settled in other parts of India, and other countries. The language spoken in and around Srinagar is regarded as the standard variety. It is used in literature, mass media and education.

1.2. Classification and Dialects

There is a general consensus amongst historical linguists that Kashmiri belongs to the Dardic branch of the Indo-Aryan family. Grierson (1919), Morgenstierne (1961), and Fussman (1972) classify Kashmiri under Dardic group of Indo-Aryan languages. The term Dardic is stated to be only a geographical convention and not a linguistic expression. The classification of Kashmiri and other Dardic languages, has been reviewed in some works (Kachru 1969, Strand 1973, Koul and Schmidt 1984), with different purposes in mind. Kachru points out linguistic characteristics of Kashmiri. Strand presents his observations on Kafir languages. Koul and Schmidt have reviewed the literature on the classification of Dardic languages and have investigated the linguistic characteristics or features of these languages with special reference of Kashmiri and Shina.

Kashmiri is closely related to Shina and some other languages of the North-West frontier. It also shares some morphological features such as pronominal suffixes with Sindhi and Lahanda. However, Kashmiri is different from all other Indo-Aryan languages in certain phonological, morphological, and syntactic features. For example, Kashmiri has a set of central vowels /ɨ, ɨ:, ə, ə:/ which are not found in other Indo-Aryan languages. In a similar way, in Kashmiri the finite verb always occurs in

the second position with the exception in relative clause constructions. The word order in Kashmiri, thus, resembles the one in German, Dutch, Icelandic, Yiddish and a few other languages. These languages form a distinct set and are currently known as Verb Second (V-2) languages. Note that the word order generated by V-2 languages is quite different from Verb middle languages, such as English. In a V-2 language, any constituent of a sentence can precede the verb. It is worth mentioning here that Kashmiri shows several unique features which are different from the above mentioned other V-2 languages.

Kashmiri has two types of dialects: (a) Regional dialects and (b) Social dialects. Regional dialects are further of two types: (i) those regional dialects or variations which are spoken in the regions inside the valley of Kashmir and (ii) those which are spoken in the regions outside the valley of Kashmir. The Kashmiri speaking area in the valley is ethno-semantically divided into three regions: (1) Maraz (southern and south-eastern region), (2) Kamraz (northern and north-western region) and (3) Srinagar and its neighbouring areas. There are some minor linguistic variations mainly at the phonological and lexical levels. Kashmiri spoken in the three regions is not only mutually intelligible but quite homogeneous. These dialectical variations can be termed as different styles of the same speech. Since Kashmiri, spoken in and around Srinagar has gained some social prestige, very frequent 'style switching' takes places from Marazi or Kamrazi styles to that of the style of speech spoken in Srinagar and its neighbouring areas. This phenomena of style switching is very common among the educated speakers of Kashmiri. Kashmiri spoken in Srinagar and surrounding areas continues to hold the prestige of being the standard variety which is used in mass media and literature.

There are two main regional dialects, namely Poguli and Kashtawari spoken outside the valley of Kashmiri (Koul and Schmidt 1984). Poguli is spoken in the Pogul and Paristan valleys bordered on the east by Rambani and Siraji, and on the west by mixed dialects of Lahanda and Pahari. The speakers of Poguli are found mainly to the south, south-east and south-west of Banihal. Poguli shares many linguistic features including 70% vocabulary with Kashmiri (Koul and Schmidt 1984). Literate Poguli speakers of Pogul and Pakistan valleys speak standard Kashmiri as well. Kashtawari is spoken in the Kashtawar valley, lying to the south-east of Kashmir. It is bordered on the south by Bhadarwahi, on the west by Chibbali and Punchi, and on the east by Tibetan speaking region of Zanskar. Kashtawari shares most of the linguistic features of standard Kashmiri, but retains some archaic features which have disappeared from

the latter. It shares about 80% vocabulary with Kashmiri (Koul and Schmidt 1984).

No detailed sociolinguistic research work has been conducted to study different speech variations of Kashmiri spoken by different communities and speakers who belong to different areas, professions and occupations. In some earlier works beginning with Grierson (1919: 234) distinction has been pointed out in two speech variations of Hindus and Muslims, two major communities who speak Kashmiri natively. Kachru (1969) has used the terms Sanskritized Kashmiri and Persianized Kashmiri to denote the two style differences on the grounds of some variations in pronunciation, morphology and vocabulary common among Hindus and Muslims. It is true that most of the distinct vocabulary used by Hindus is derived from Sanskrit and that used by Muslims is derived from Perso-Arabic sources. On considering the phonological and morphological variations (besides vocabulary) between these two dialects, the terms used by Kachru do not appear to be appropriate or adequate enough to represent the two socio-dialectical variations of styles of speech. The dichotomy of these social dialects is not always clear-cut. One can notice a process of style switching between the speakers of these two dialects in terms of different situations and participants. The frequency of this 'style switching' process between the speakers of these two communities mainly depends on different situations and periods of contact between the participants of the two communities at various social, educational and professional levels. Koul (1986) and Dhar (1984) have presented co-relation between certain linguistic and social variations of Kashmiri at different social and regional levels. The sociolinguistic variations of the language deserve a detailed study.

1.3. Script

Various scripts have been used for Kashmiri. The main scripts are: Sharda, Devanagri, Roman and Perso-Arabic. The Sharda script, developed around the 10th century, is the oldest script used for Kashmiri. The script was used for writing Sanskrit by the local scholars at that time. The does not represent all the phonetic characteristics of the Kashmiri language. It is now being used for very restricted purposes (for writing horoscopes) by the priestly class of the Kashmiri Pandit community. The Devanagri script with additional diacritical marks has also been used for Kashmiri and continues to be used by writers and researchers in representing the data from Kashmiri texts in their writings in Hindi related to language, literature and culture. It is being used by a few journals namely *Koshur Samachar*, *Aalav* and *Kshir Bhawani Times* on regular basis. Certain

amount of inconsistency prevails in the use of diacritic signs. This script has recently been standardised and now widely used in publications. The Roman script has also been used for Kashmiri but could not become popular.

The Perso-Arabic script with additional diacritical marks now known as Kashmiri script has been recognized as the official script for Kashmiri by the Jammu and Kashmir Government and is now widely used in publications in the language. It still lacks standardization (Koul 1996).

2. Phonology

2.1. Segmentals

The inventory of the distinctive segments of Kashmiri is given under Vowels and Consonants below:

2.1.1. Vowels

	Front		Central		Back	
High	i	i:	ɨ	ɨ:	u	u:
Mid	e	e:	ə	ə:	o	o:
Low			a	a:	ɔ	

Notice that Kashmiri has two short and two long central vowels (/ɨ/, /ɨ:/, /ə/ and /ə:/) which are not found in other South Asian languages.

2.1.1.1. Oral vowels

There is a contrast of the position of tongue, height of the tongue and the rounding of lips in the articulation of vowels:

/i/ (high front unrounded short vowel):
(y)imtiha:n 'examination,' *sir* 'secret,' *beni* 'sister.'

/i:/ (hight front unrounded long vowel):
(y)i:d 'Eid' (A Muslim festival), *si:r* 'brick,' *jaldi:* 'quickly.'

/e/ (mid front unrounded short vowel):
reh 'flame,' *tre* 'three'

/e:/ (mid front unrounded long vowel):
tse:r 'late'

/ɨ/ (high central unrounded short vowel):
akɨl 'wisdom,' *gandɨ* 'dirty'

/ɨ:/ (high central unrounded long vowel):
ɨ:ṭhim 'eighth,' *tɨ:r* 'cold'

/ə/ (mid central unrounded short vowel):
əch 'eye,' *gər* 'watch'

/ə:/ (mid central unrounded long vowel):
ə:s 'mouth,' *phə:ydɨ* 'profit'

/a/ (low central unrounded short vowel):
az 'today,' *par* 'read,' *na* 'no'

/a:/ (low central unrounded long vowel):
a:r 'pity,' *ga:m* 'village,' *sapha:* 'clean'

/u/ (high back rounded short vowel):
panun 'own,' *su* 'that/he'

/u:/ (high back rounded long vowel):
u:trɨ 'day before yesterday,' *su:d* 'interest'

/o/ (mid back rounded short vowel):
on 'blind,' *son* 'deep'

/o:/ (mid back rounded long vowel):
o:l 'nest,' *so:n* 'our,' *valo:* 'come(imp)'

/ɔ/ (low back rounded short vowel):
dɔd 'milk,' *sɔ* 'she'

2.1.1.2. Nasal vowels

Nasalization is phonemic in Kashmiri. All the vowels can be nasalized.

/ɨ:/	pi:tsh	'a little (f.s.)'
/ẽ/	kẽh `	'some'
/ẽ:/	šẽ:kh	'conch'
/ɨ̃:/	kɨ̃:tsh	'youngest (f.s)'
/ə̃/	ə̃z	'goose'
/ə̃/	ə̃:ṭ	'stone of a fruit'
/ã/	ãgre:z	'an English man'
/ã:/	ã:gun	'compound'
/ũ/	kũz	'key'
/ũ:/	vũ:ṭh	'camel'
/õ/	gõd	'bouquet'
/õ:/	gõ:d	'gum'
/ɔ̃/	sɔ̃zal	'rainbow'

2.1.1.3. Distribution of vowels

The vowels */ə/*, */o/*, */ɔ:/* do not occur in the word final position. The short vowels */i/*, */e/*, */u/*, and */ɔ/* do not occur in the word-initial position. Usually the semi-vowel */y/* is added in the initial position of the words beginning with */i/*, */i:/*, */e/*, and */e:/*. Similarly, the semi-vowel */v/* is added to the words beginning with */u/*, and */u:/*. The following pairs of words are in free variation:

ira:di/yira:dɨ 'determination'

ehsa:n/yehsa:n	'kindness'
e:la:n/ye:la:n	'announcement'
uja:ḍɨ/vuja:ḍɨ	'deserted'
ũ:ṭh/vũ:ṭh	'camel'

Only some educated persons who are conscious about the original pronunciation of the Hindi-Urdu borrowed words, make efforts to pronounce some of such words without the semi-vowel in the word initial position.

2.1.1.4. Sequences of (syllabic) vowels

Sequences of vowels do not occur in Kashmiri. The combinations of some vowel sequences like */uɨ/*, */u:ɨ/*,and */o:ə/* can be treated as diphthongs. Their occurrence is restricted to the word initial and medial positions only.

šuɨr	'child' (f.s)
gu:ɨr	'milkmaid'
o:əl	'nest'
go:əl	'round'

2.1.2. Consonants

Consonants are classified into different groups on the basis of their manner and place of articulation.

2.1.2.1. Inventory of Consonants

	Bilabial	Dental	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops						
vl.unasp	p	t	ṭ		k	
vl.asp	ph	th	ṭh		kh	
vd.unsap	b	d	ḍ		g	
Affricates						
vl.unas		ts		c		
vl.asp		tsh		ch		
vd.unas				j		
Nasal	m	n			ŋ	
Trill		r				
Lateral		l				
Fricative						
vl.		s		š		h
vd.		z				
Semi-vowels	v			y		

Examples are given below:

Stops

/p/ (voiceless unaspirated bilabial stop):
pakh 'walk,' *kapur* 'cloth,' *pop* 'ripe.'

/ph/ (voiceless aspirated bilabial stop):
phal 'fruit,' *saphe:d* 'white,' *pa:ph* 'sin'

/b/ (voiced unaspirated bilabial stop):
bar 'door,' *akhba:r* 'newspaper,' *nab* 'sky'

/t/ (voiceless unaspirated dental stop):
tarun 'to cross,' *katun* 'to spin,' *tot* 'hot'

/th/ (voiceless aspirated dental stop):
thod 'tall,' *mathun* 'to rub,' *sath* 'seven'

/d/ (voiced unaspirated dental stop):
də:r 'window,' *l'odur* 'yellow,' *band* 'close'

/ṭ/ (voiceless unaspirated retroflex stop):
ṭu:kɨr 'basket,' *raṭun* 'to catch,' *hoṭ* 'throat.'

/ṭh/ (voiceless aspirated retroflex stop):
ṭhu:l 'egg,' *miṭhə:y* 'sweets,' *zu':ṭh* 'tall'

/ḍ/ (voiced unaspirated retroflex stop):
ḍu:n 'walnut,' *ganḍun* 'to tie,' *yaḍ* 'belly'

/k/ (voiceless unaspirated velar stop):
kan 'ear,' *kɔkɨr* 'hen,' *tsok* 'sour.'

/kh/ (voiceless aspirated velar stop):
khanun 'to dig,' *khɔkhur* 'hollow,' *krakh* 'cry'

/g/ (voiced unaspirated velar stop):
gardan 'neck,' *gagur* 'rat,' *rag* 'vein'

Affricates

/ts/ (voiceless unaspirated dental affricate):
tsa:s 'cough' *natsun* 'to dance,' *sɨts* 'tailor'

/tsh/ (voiceless aspirated dental affricate):
tshor 'empty,' *gatshun* 'to go,' *latsh* 'dust'

/c/ (voiceless unaspirated palato-alveolar stop)
co:n 'your,' *necuv* 'son,' *koc* 'unripe/raw'

/ch/ (voiceless aspirated palato-alveolar affricate):
cha:n 'carpenter,' *rachun* 'to save,' *məch* 'fly.'

/j/ (voiced unaspirated palato-alveolar affricate)
ja:n 'good,' *paji* 'baskets,' *ta:j* 'crown'

Fricatives

/s/ (voiceless alveolar fricative):
sath 'seven' *sastɨ* 'cheap,' *nas* 'nose'
/z/ (voiced alveolar fricative):
za:lun 'to burn,' *pazar* 'truth,' *az* 'today'
/š/ (voiceless palato-alveolar fricative):
šak 'suspicion,' *kəši:r* 'Kashmir,' *paš* 'roof'
/h/ (voiceless glottal fricative):
hos 'elephant,' *baha:r* 'spring,' *reh* 'flame'

Nasals

/m/ (voiced bilabial nasal):
mas 'hair,' *tsa:man* 'cheese,' *kam* 'less'
/n/ (voiced alveolar nasal):
nam 'nail' *anun* 'to bring,' *son* 'deep'
/ŋ/ (voiced velar nasal):
raŋun 'to dye,' *zaŋ* 'leg.'

Trill

/r/ (voiced alveolar trill):
raz 'rope,' *narɨm* 'soft,' *ta:r* 'wire'

Lateral

/l/ (voiced alveolar lateral):
lu:kh 'people,' *kalam* 'pen,' *za:l* 'net'

Semi-vowels

/v/ (voiced bilabial semi-vowel) :
van 'forest' , *davun* 'to run,' *na:v* 'boat/name'
/y/ (voiced palatal semi-vowel):
yaḍ 'belly,' *yakhtiya:r* 'right,' *ja:y* 'place'

2.1.2.2. Palatalization

Palatalization is phonemic in Kashmiri. All the non-palatal consonants in Kashmiri can be palatalized.

pan	'thread'	p'an	'(they) will fall'
phal	'fruit'	ph'al	'boil'
bon	'heap'	b'on	'separate'

tal	'under'	t'al	'a piece'
thakun	'to be tired'	th'akun	'to boast'
dal	'group'	d'al	'bark'
həṭ	'piece of wood'	həṭ'	'throats'
ṭə:ṭh	'dear one (f)'	ṭə:ṭh'	'dear ones' (m.p.)
bəḍ	'big (f.s.)	bəḍ'	'big ones' (m.p.)
kath	'story'	k'ath	'in' (something)'
khav	'a ditch'	kh'av	'ate'
ba:gva:n	'gardener'	ba:g'va:n	'lucky'
tsal	'run' (imp)	ts'al	'pressure'
tshoṭ	'short'	tsh'oṭ	'polluted'
ə:m	'unbaked (f.s.)	ə:m'	'unbaked' (m.p)
nu:l	'mongoose'	n'u:l	'blue'
gə:s	'gas'	gə:s'	'slothful'
zal	'urine'	z'al	'cream layer'
han	'a piece'	h'an	'to be afraid'
mə:l	'appetite'	mə:l'	'fathers
parun	'to read'	par'un	'sieve'
vath	'road'	v'aṭh	'river Vitasta'

2.1.2.3. Phonological changes in loanwords

The voiced aspirated consonant phonemes like /bh/,/dh/,/ḍh/,/jh/,and /gh/ are deaspirated as /b/,/d/,/ ḍ/,/j/, and /g/ respectively in Kashmiri in the Perso-Arabic and Hindi-Urdu borrowed words. Similarly, the Perso-Arabic uvular stop /q/ is replaced by /k/, and fricatives /f/, /x/,and /G/ are replaced by /ph/, /kh/, and /g/ respectively.

The voiceless unaspirated stops /p/,/t/,/ṭ/,and /k/ in the borrowed words are aspirated in the word final position in Kashmiri:

Hindi-Urdu	Kashmiri
pa:p 'sin'	pa:ph
ra:t 'night'	ra:th
ko:ṭ 'coat'	ko:ṭh
pa:k 'pure'	pa:kh

2.1.2.4. Consonant Clusters

2.1.2.4.1. Word-initial Consonant Cluster

Word initial consonant clusters are not as frequent as the word medial consonant clusters. The second member of a consonant cluster which

occur in the initial position is always /r/. The first consonant is a stop, affricate or a fricative.

/pr/	prasun	'to give birth'
/phr/	phras	'poplar tree'
/br/	bram	'illusion'
/tr/	tre	'three'
/dr/	drog	'expensive'
/ ṭr/	ṭrak	'truck'
/ ḍr/	ḍram	'drum'
/kr/	krakh	'cry'
/khr/	khra:v	'a wooden footwear'
/gr/	gra:kh	'a customer'
/tshr/	tshraṭh	'mischief'
/sr/	srod	'joint,' 'common'
/šr/	šra:n	'bath'

2.1.2.4.2. Word-medial consonant cluster

There is a very frequent occurrence of consonant clusters in the medial position. Most of these clusters are formed across syllable or morpheme boundaries. Some of them are broken optionally by the insertion of the vowel /i/. There are some restrictions in the formation of consonant clusters as follows: (i) two aspirated consonants do not combine to form a consonant cluster, (ii) /ch/ is not combined to form a consonant cluster, (iii) /ḍ/ does not occur as the second member of a consonant cluster. Examples of the consonant clusters are given below

pt	kapta:n	'captain'
bn	šabnam	'dew'
thk	kithkɨn'	'how'
dph	adphar	'fragrance'
ḍp	taḍpun	'to suffer in pain'
kt	maktab	'school'
gr	rangre:z	'dyer'
ck	ackan	'a long button- up coat'
jl	khəjli:	'insult'
mṭh	tsamṭhun	'to shrink'
nt	zantɨ	'as if'
šm	dušman	'enemy'
lb	albə:n'	'plough'
rb	gurbath	'poverty'
zm	azma:vun	'to try'
hb	rəhbar	'guide'

There are only a limited number of consonant clusters of three consonants possible in Kashmiri. In all such instances the first consonant is nasal /n/.

ndr	əndrim	'internal'
ndk	andka:r	'darkness'
ndg	bandgi:	'worship'
nzr	gənzrun	'to count'

2.1.2.4.3. Word-final consonant cluster

There is a less frequency of the occurrence of the consonant clusters in the word final position. The first member of the consonant cluster is any of the two nasal consonants /m, n/, or fricatives /s, š/. The second consonant is any of the stops.

/mp/	lamp	'lamp'
/mb/	amb	'mango'
/nd/	dand	'teeth'
/nḍ/	khanḍ	'sugar'
/nk/	bank	'bank'
/nš/	šankh	'conch'
/ng/	rang	'colour'
/st/	mast	'carefree'
/št/	gašt	'round'
/št? /	kašṭ	'trouble'

2.1.2.5. Syllable structure

Kashmiri has (C)(C)V(C)(C) syllable structure. Vowel initial syllables are found only in the initial position of the words The first consonant of the medial cluster is assigned to the preceding syllable and the remaining elements of the unit to the following syllable. In the following examples the syllable boundary is marked with [+] sign.

nak+ši	'map'
mən+zil	'destination'
kis+mat	'fate'

The assignment of the medial units to syllables does not depend on morphological structure.

2. 2. Suprasegmentals

2.2.1. Length

There are seven pairs of short and long vowels: The following minimal pairs illustrate the contrast in the length of these vowels:

sir	'secret'	si:r	'brick
zen	'mud'	ze:n	'win'
tɨr	'a piece of cloth'	tɨ:r	'cold'
lər	'house'	lə:r	'cucumber'
nar	'male'	na:r	'fire'
kun	'alone'	ku:n	'corner'
son	'deep'	so:n	'our'

Consonants do not contrast in length.

2.2.2. Stress

Stress is not a distinctive feature of Kashmiri. It is not in phonemic contrast. Kashmiri being a syllable-timed language, sometimes individual words are stressed for emphasis.

2.2.3. Intonation

There are four major types of intonational patterns: (1) High - fall, (2) High - rise, (3) Rise & fall, (4) Mid - level. Intonations have syntactic rather than emotional content. Statements have 'High - fall' intonation pattern. Intonation peaks are generally positioned on the penultimate word or on the negative particle, if any.

1. su chu kita:b para:n
   he is book read-p
   'He is reading a book.'
2. palav chini me:zas peṭh
   cothes are-neg table-on dat
   'The books are not on the table.'

Yes-no questions and tag questions have a 'High-rise' intonation.

3. su a:va: ra:th
   he came-qm yesterday
   'Did he come yesterday?'

4. su gav dili, gav na:
 he went Delhi-ab went neg-q
 'He went to Delhi. Didn't he?

Information questions have 'Rise and fall' intonation. The rise in intonation is registered on the question word and fall is attained gradually.

5. toh' kar gəyivɨ ba:zar
 you when went market
 'When did you go to the market?'

Commands generally follow the mid-level intonational pattern.

6. darva:zɨ kar band
 door do close
 'Close the door.'

The contrastive and emphatic intonations are same as they employ more than the average stress on the constituents of a sentence. The element to be contrasted carries slightly higher stress than the emphasized segment. For example, any of the elements can be emphasized in the following sentence depending on the degree of emphasis. The emphasis is represented by the use of italic words, e.g.,

7a. *toh'* gətshiv dili
 you go-fu-2p Delhi
 'You will go to Delhi .'

7b. toh' *gətshiv* dili

7c. toh' gətshiv *dili*

2.3 Morphophonology

2.3.1. Alternations

There are two types of alternations: (1) Alternations between vowel segments, and (2) Alternations between consonant segments.

In (1) the vowel of a monosyllabic stem and the second vowel of disyllabic stem undergo changes when inflectional suffixes are added to them. There are three types of vowel changes: (i) lowering of a vowel, (ii) raising of a vowel, and (iii) centralization of a vowel.

2.3.1.1. Lowering of a vowel

The vowels /ə/,/ə:/ and /u:/ of the monosyllabic stems change to /a/, /a:/ and /o:/ respectively when the plural forming suffixes -ɨ or -i are added to them, e.g.,

gər	'watch'	+ ɨ	gari	'watches'
nər	'arm'	+ i	nari	'arms'
gə:ḍ	'fish'	+ ɨ	ga:ḍɨ	'fish' (pl)
ku:r	'girl'	+ i	ko:ri	'girls'

2.3.1.2. Raising of a vowel

The vowels /a/ and /a:/ in the CVC stems change to /ə/ and /ə:/ respectively when a suffix beginning with -i is added to them.

kar	'do'	+ iv	kəriv	'do' (imp. pl)
na:g	'spring'	+ in	nə:gin'	'small spring'

2.3.1.3. Centralization of a vowel

The back vowels /u/,/u:/,/o/, and /o:/ of the monosyllabic or the second vowel of the disyllabic stems change to /ɨ/, /ɨ:/,/ə/, and /ə:/ respectively when suffixes beginning with -i, or -y are added to them.

ga:ṭul	'wise'	+ y	ga:ṭil'	'wise (pl)
kru:r	'well'	+ y	krɨ:r'	'wells'
ru:n	'husband'	+ y	rɨ:n'	'husbands'
koṭ	'boy'	+ is	kəṭis	'to the boy'
on	'blind'	+ is	ənis	'to the blind'
mo:l	'father'	+ y	mə:l'	'fathers'

The second vowel /u/ of the disyllabic words of the CVCVC structure changes to the central vowel /a/ when the plural forming suffix -ø is added to them.

batukh	'duck'	+ ø	batakh	'ducks
gagur	'rat'	+ ø	gagar	'rats'
kɔkur	'cock'	+ ø	kɔkar	'ducks
va:tul	'cobbler'	+ø	va:tal	'cobblers

In the alternation of consonant segments the different types of consonant changes as well as some vowel change take place as a result of

adding suffixes to stems. Notice that some vowel changes also take place in the stems.

The retroflex consonants /ṭ/, /ṭh/ and /ḍ/ occurring in the feminine singular stems change to affricates /c/, /ch/ and /j/ respectively, when the plural forming suffix is added to them.

zəṭ	'rag'	+ ɨ	zaci	'rags
mɔṭh	'handful'	+ i	mɔchi	'handfulls'
bəḍ	'big (f)'	+ i	baji	'big ones'

The word final dental stops /t/, /th/, /d/ change to affricates /ts/, /tsh/ and fricative /z/ respectively when the feminine forming suffix –ø is added to them.

Masculine			Feminine	
mot	'mad'	+ ø	məts	'mad'
yuth	'this type'	+ ø	yitsh	'this type'
thod	'tall'	+ ø	thəz	'tall'

The velar stops /k/, /kh/, and /g/ change to affricates /c/, /ch/ and /j/ respectively when the feminine forming suffix -ø is added to them.

Masculine			Feminine	
tsok	'sour'	+ ø	tsoc	'sour'
hokh	'dry'	+ ø	hoch	'dry'
lang	'branch'	+ ø	lənḍ	'branch'

The lateral consonant /l/ in the final position changes to the affricate /j/ as a result of adding the feminine suffix -ø to it.

Masculine			Feminine	
kol	'dumb'	+ ø	kəj	'dumb'
hol	'twisted'	+ ø	həj	'twisted'

The stem final aspirated voiceless stops are deaspirated when the suffixes beginning with vowels are added to them.

ta:ph	'sunny'	+ as	ta:pas	'in the sun'
sath	'seven'	+ im	sətim	'seventh'
raṭh	'hold'	+ un	raṭun	'to hold'

2.3.2. Deletion and Insertion

2.3.2.1. Deletion

The CVCV stem final /ɨ/ is deleted when a vowel initial suffix is added to it.

kalɨ	'head'	+ as	kalas	'to the head'
ra:mɨ	'Ram'	+ un	ra:mun	'Ram's'

The vowel /u/, or /i/ of the second syllable of the CVCVC stem is deleted when a vowel initial suffix is added to it.

gobur	'son'	+ is	gobris	'to the son'
gɔgɨj	'turnip'	+ i	gɔgji	'to the turnip'
nəgɨr	'town'	+ as	nəgras	'to the town'

2.3.2.2. Insertion

/y/ is inserted between the front vowel ending stem and the suffix beginning with /-i/.

khe	'eat'	+ iv	kheyiv	'eat' (imp. pl)
di	'give'	+ iv	diyiv	'give' (imp.pl)

/v/ is inserted between the back vowel ending stem and the suffix beginning with /a/.

ce	'drink'	+ a:n	ceva:n	'drinking'
di	'give'	+ a:n	diva:n	'giving'

/m/ is inserted between the front vowel ending verb stems and the suffixes /i/ or /a/ for deriving first person future forms.

ni	'take'	+ ɨ	nimɨ	'I'll take'
khe	'eat'	+ av	khemav	'we'll eat'

/ɨ/ is added as a linking morpheme between a consonant ending stem and a consonant beginning stem in the derivation of compounds.

nu:n	'salt'	də:n'	'pot'	nu:nɨ də:n'	'salt pot'
ca:y	'tea'	də:n'	'pot'	ca:yɨ də:n'	'tea pot'

3. Morphology

3.1. Nominal Morphology

Nouns in Kashmiri follow the traditional classification scheme of (i) Proper (human animate, non-human animate, and inanimate) nouns, and (ii) Common (count, mass) nouns. Nouns are not formally distinguished for being definite or indefinite. The demonstrative adjectives may optionally be used as a means to indicate the definiteness. The forms of *vo:l* and genitive phrases modifying a noun also express definiteness. Indefiniteness is expressed either by the use of indefinite numerals or qualifiers or markers. The marking of definiteness or indefiniteness in a noun phrase is not obligatory and can be inferred from the context also.

3.1.1. Noun Inflection

Nouns are inflected for gender, number and case.

3.1.1.1. Gender

Nouns are divided into two classes: Masculine and feminine. Animates follow the natural gender system. The gender of a large number of inanimate nouns can be predicted by their endings. Gender formation processes from masculine to feminine or vice versa are irregular. Main gender formation processes involve (i) suffixation, (ii) changes in vowels and consonants, and (iii) suppletion. Most of the phonological and morphological changes are regular.

Suffixation

The following suffixes added to nouns indicate their masculine formation: *-da:r, -dar -vo:l, -ul,* and *-ur*. As a result of adding of these suffixes certain morphophonemic changes take place.

duka:n	'shop'	duka:nda:r	'shopkeeper'
ṭhe:kɨ	'contract'	ṭhe:kɨdar	'contractor'
dɔd	'milk'	dɔdɨvo:l	'milkman'
ga:ṭɨ	'wisdom'	ga:ṭul	'wise man'
sa:l	'feast'	sa:lur	'guest'

The following suffixes added to nouns indicate their feminine formation: -en',- ɨn', -ə:n', -ba:y, -ɨr.

Masculine	Feminine	
dã:dur	dã:dren'	'vegetable seller'
khar	khərin'	'an ass'

gujur	gujrə:n'	'Gujar'
ma:ṣṭar	ma:ṣṭarba:y	'teacher'
votsh	vatshɨr	'calf'

The feminine forms are derived by palatalization of the final consonant as well, e.g.,

on	ən'	'blind'
zon	zən'	'person'

Vowel and consonant changes

(i) The vowels /u, u:, o, o:/ in the CVC structure of masculine nouns are diphthongized or are replaced by the central vowels at the same height in their feminie forms, e.g.,

Masculine		Feminine	
šur	'child'	šuɨr	
gu:r	'milkman'	gu:ɨr	
gob	'heavy'	goəb	
koṭ	'boy'	kəṭ	'girl'

(ii) The penultimate vowel /u/ of the CVCVC structure masculine nouns is replaced by /ɨ/,e.g.,

ko:tur	'pigeon'	ko:ətɨr	
kɔkur	'cock'	kɔkɨr	'hen'

(iii) The word final consonants /l, k, kh, t, and g/ are replaced by /j, c, ch, ts, and ḍ/ respectively, e.g.,

mo:l	'father'	mə:j	'mother'
ga:ṭul	'wise'	ga:ṭɨj	
tsok	'sour'	tsoc	
hokh	'dry'	hoch	
tot	'hot'	təts	
long	'lame'	lənḍ	

Suppletion

Some feminine nouns present examples of suppletion as follows:

Masculine		Feminine	
dã:d	'bull'	ga:v	'cow'
marɨd	'man'	zana:n	'woman'
necuv	'son'	ku:r	'daughter'

Gender marking of foreign words

Kashmiri borrows words from Perso-Arabic, Sanskrit, Hindi-Urdu, and English. Nativized loans from these languages fall in two genders: masculine and feminine. It is interesting to note that a large number of words borrowed from Hindi-Urdu have different genders from their sources (see for details Koul 1983). A few examples are given below.

Hindi-Urdu	Kashmiri	Gloss
a:dat (f)	a:dath (m)	'habit'
ki:mat (f)	kɨ:math (m)	'price'
dava: (f)	dava: (m)	'medicine'
kismat (f)	kismath (m)	'luck'
ta:r (m)	ta:r (f)	'telegram'
rupaya: (m)	rɔpay (f)	'rupee'
ruma:l (m)	ruma:l (f)	'handkerchief'

A number of other nouns also have different genders in Hindi-Urdu and Kashmiri. For example, days of a week (except *juma:h* 'Friday') are masculine in Hindi-Urdu, but they are feminine in Kashmiri.

3.1.1.2. Number

There are two numbers: singular and plural. Most count nouns form their plurals from singular form. Some count nouns have the same form for both numbers. Mass nouns do not show number distinction. Plurals are formed from singulars by suffixation, palatalization and vowel changes.

3.1.1.2.1. Masculine plural forms

Main rules for the formation of masculine plural forms are as follows:

(i) The mid back vowel /o/ of the CVC structure nouns changes to a central vowel and the final consonant is palatalized. The high back vowels /u/ and /u:/ remain unchanged.

Singular		Plural	
mo:l	'father'	mə:l'	'fathers'
koṭ	'boy'	kəṭ'	'boys'
kul	'tree'	kul'	'trees'
gur	'horse'	gur'	'horses'
ḍu:n	'walnut'	ḍu:n'	'walnuts'

(ii) The second vowel of the CVCVC structure nouns changes to a central vowel and the final consonant is palatalized.

ga:ṭul	'wise'	ga:ṭil'	'wise'
latshul	'broom'	latshil'	'brooms'

(iii) The penultimate vowel /u/ of (C)VCVC structure nouns changes to /a/

gagur	'mouse'	gagar	'mice'
ko:tur	'pigeon'	ko:tar	'pigeons'
o:luv	'potato'	o:lav	'potatoes'

(iv) Masculine nouns ending in the vowel /ɨ/ do not change in their plural form: *gila:sɨ* 'glass,' *maka:nɨ* 'house,' *ba:nɨ* 'utensil,' *nalkɨ* 'tap,' *kamrɨ* 'room,' *darva:zɨ* 'door' etc.

(v) The CVC structure nouns with a central vowel do not change in their plural form: *khar* 'donkey,' *va:l* 'hair,' *ma:m* 'maternal uncle,' *sɨh* 'lion' etc.

(vi) Consonant ending masculine nouns borrowed from Hindi Urdu and English do not change in their plural form: *bema:r* 'sick,' *gəri:b* 'poor,' *mozu:r* 'labourer,' *ho:ṭal* 'hotel,' *saykal* 'cycle,' etc. (They, however, undergo phonological changes.)

3.1.1.2.2. Feminine plural form

Main rules for the formation of feminine plural forms are as follows:

(i) The vowel of the CVC(C) structure nouns is lowered and /i/ is added at the end, e.g.,

Singular		Plural	
nər	'arm'	nari	'arms'

dəːr	'window'	daːri	'windows'
vəːj	'ring'	vaːji	'rings'
kuːr	'girl'	koːri	'girls'

The retroflex consonants /ṭ/, /ṭh/, /ḍ/ change into palatals /c/, /ch/ and /j/ respectively, e.g.,

ləṭ	'tail'	laci	'tails'
lənd	'branch'	lanji	'branches'
kuṭh	'grain store'	kuchi	'grain stores'

The penultimate vowel /ɨ/ of CVCVC structure is dropped, before the plural suffix /i/ is added, e.g.,

gagɨr	'rat'	gagri	'rats'
gɔgɨj	'turnip'	gɔgji	'turnips'

(ii) The plural marker /ɨ/ is added to the feminine nouns of CVC structure having a low vowel, e.g.,

kath	'story'	kathɨ	'stories'
naːv	'boat'	naːvɨ	'boats'
dɔs	'wall'	dɔsɨ	'walls'

(iii) The final consonant /th/ changes to /ts/ and the vowel preceding to it is raised in height,e.g.,

raːth	'night'	rəːts	'nights'
zaːth	'caste'	zəːts	'castes'

A few feminine nouns do not change in their plural form, e.g. əch 'eye.'

3.1.1.3. Case

Case suffixes added to nouns and noun phrases occur as bound morphemes. Following table gives the case suffixes added to the nouns agreeing in number and gender:

Case	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl
Nominative	-ø	-ø	-ø	-ø

Dative	-as/is	-an	-i	-an
Ergative	-an	-av	-i	-av
Locative	-as/is	-an	-i	-av
Ablative	-ɨ	-av	-i	-an
Instrumental	-ɨ	-av	-i	-av
Genitive I	as	-an	-i	-an
II	-ɨ	-av	-i	-av
Vocative	-a:	-av	-iy	-av

Notice that dative and locative case suffixes are the same. Similarly, the case suffixes of ablative and instrumental are identical. Since they take different postpositions, they have been listed separately. Note that there is a complexity in the masculine singular forms in both ergative and dative cases. Masculine nouns that form their plurals by palatalization (i.e., *mo:l, mə:l'* 'father, fathers' use the palatalized plural forms as ergative singular forms. Thus the form *mə:l'* is used both as a nominative plural and as an ergative singular. Palatalized masculine plural forms also act as a base for forming their corresponding masculine singular dative forms. They use the dative suffix *-is* in place of the regular *-as*. Similarly, the feminine proper nouns that end in *-i* take the masculine singular ergative and dative suffix in place of the prescribed *i*.

The genitive case suffixes are of two types. First is identical with the dative form and the second with the ablative. The vocative case suffixes as given above are added to the nouns, which are preceded by various informal vocativemarkers as follows:

Masculine		Feminine	
Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl
haya:	hayo:	haye:	haye:
hata:	hato:	hatay	hata:
hayo:	hayo:	hə:y	hə:y

3.1.1.4. Postpositions

There are two major types of postpositions: (a) those which govern the dative case, and (b) those which govern the ablative. There are a few postpositions which govern both. Examples of these postpositions are given below.

(a) Postpositions governing the dative case: peṭh 'on, upon,' andar 'in/inside,' manz 'in,' keth 'in,' k'uth 'for,' niši 'near,' hund/sund 'of' 'sa:n,' si:th'/ , si:t'an 'with, together with'

(b) Postpositions governing the ablative case: *peṭhɨ* 'from,' *əndrɨ* 'from within, from among,' *kin'* 'by, owing to' *niši* 'from near,' *uk* 'of,' *un* 'of' *sa:n* 'with,' *sɨ:th,'* *sɨ:tin* 'with, by means of ba:path 'for'

(c) The postpositions *sa:n, niši, sɨ:th,' sɨ:t'an* govern both cases. The meaning of the postposition *sa:n* in both cases remains unchanged, but the other postpositions change their meanings according to the case they govern.

The role of case suffixes and postpositions is explained in the paradigms of *ləḍkɨ* 'boy' and *ku:r* 'girl' given below.

Case	Noun + Marker				Postposition
	Masculine		Feminine		
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl	
Nom	ləḍkɨ	ləḍkɨ	ku:r	ko:ri	ø
Dat	ləḍkas	ləḍkan	ko:ri	ko:ren	(k'uth)
Erg	ləḍkan	ləḍkav	ko:ri	ko:rev	ø
Loc	ləḍkas	ləḍkan	ko:ri	ko:ren	peṭh/niš/tal
Abl	ləḍkɨ	ləḍkav	ko:ri	ko:rev	peṭh
Ins	ləḍkɨ	ləḍkav	ko:ri	ko:rev	si:th'
Gen	ləḍkɨ	ləḍkan	ko:ri	ko:ren	und/ɨnd'/ɨnz/ɨnzɨ
Voc	haya:	ləḍka:	'O boy!'	haye: ku:ri:	'O girl!'
	hayo:	ləḍkav	'O boys'	haye: ko:rev	'O girls!

The genitive postpositions are like adjectives and they agree with the governing noun in gender, number and case. There are three types of these postpositions. The forms of all the three types of these postpositions are as follows:

Case	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl
Type I	-uk	-ik'	-ɨc	-ɨci
Type II	-un	-in'	-ɨn'	-ɨni
Type III	-und	-ind'	-ɨnz	-ɨnzɨ

The Type I and II postpositions are governed by ablative case, and the Type III by dative case

Type I postpositions are used with inanimate nouns:

duka:nuk darva:zɨ 'the door of the shop'
duka:nɨk' darva:zɨ 'the owners of the shop'
duka:nic də:r 'the window of the shop'
duka:nici da:ri 'the windows of the shop'

Type II postpositions are used with animate human proper nouns:

mohnun bo:y 'Mohan's brother'
mohnɨn' bə:y 'Mohan's brothers'
mohnɨn' beni 'Mohan's sister'
mohnini beni 'Mohan's sisters'

Type III postpositions are used with the rest. Notice that /s/ or /h/ phonemes are added in the initial position of these postpositions depending on the structure of the subject nouns along with their case suffixes. /h/ is added to the postpositions of all the plurals and feminine singular subject nouns. /s/ is added to the postpositions following the singular masculine nouns ending with dative case suffixes. Adding of case suffixes result in certain morphophonemic changes in the stem nouns. The case relations are expressed by the use of the case suffixes as well as the postpositions which undergo certain changes. Examples of the use of these postpositions are given as follows:

ku:r + i + und/ɨnd'/ɨnz/ɨnzɨ = ko:ri hund/hɨnd'/hɨnz/hɨnzɨ
ləḍkɨ +as + und/ɨnd'/ɨnz/ɨnzɨ = ləḍkɨ sund/sɨnd'/sɨnz/sɨnzɨ
bo:y +is + und/ɨnd'/ɨnz/ɨnzɨ = bə:y sund/sɨnd'/sɨnz/sɨnzɨ
ko:ri + an + und/ɨnd'/ɨnz/ɨnzɨ = ko:ren hund/hɨnd'/hɨnz/hɨnzɨ
ləḍkɨ +an + und/ɨnd'/ɨnz/ɨnzɨ = ləḍkan hund/hɨnd'/hɨnz/hɨnzɨ

ko:ri hund bo:y 'girl's brother'
ko:ri hɨnd' bə:y 'girl's brothers'
ko:ri hɨnz kita:b 'girl's book'
ko:ri hɨnzɨ kita:bɨ 'girl's books'
ləḍkɨ sund kalam 'boy's pen'
ləḍkɨ sɨnd' kalam 'boy's pens'

ləḍkɨ sɨnz kursi:	'boy's chair'
ləḍkɨ sɨnzɨ kursiyi	'boy's chairs'
ləḍkan/ko:ren hund ma:sṭar	'boys'/girls' teacher'
ləḍkan/ko:ren hɨnd' ma:sṭar	'boys'/girls' teachers'
ləḍkan/ko:ren hɨnz mə:j	'boys'/girls' mother'
ləḍkan/ko:ren hɨnzɨ ma:ji	'boys'/girls' mothers'

3.1.2 Pronouns

3.1.2.1. Personal Pronouns

Pronouns are inflected for gender, number and case. Pronominals in Kashmiri do not make a distinction between inclusion and exclusion. There is a three-term set of pronouns in Kashmiri. Third person pronouns exhibit a three-term distinction of the participants in speech acts: proximate, remote (within sight) and remote (out of sight).

Although the case system of pronouns is essentially the same as that of nouns, pronouns have more case forms than nouns. Notice that there is no gender distinction in the first and second person personal pronouns. Second and third person plural forms are used for honorific singulars as well.

Case	Person	Deixis	Gender and Number			
			Masculine		Feminine	
			Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl
Nom.						
	1st		bɨ	əs'	bɨ	əs'
	2nd		tsɨ	toh'	tsɨ	toh'
	3rd	Prox.	yi	yim	yi	yim
		R. I (within sight)	hu	hum	hɔ	humɨ
		R. II (out of sight)	su	tim	sɔ	timɨ

Case	Person		Gender and Number			
			Masculine		Feminine	
			Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl
Dat.						
	1st		me	asi	me	asi
	2nd		tse	tɔhi	tse	tɔhi
	3rd	Prox.	yemis	yiman	yemis	yiman
		R. I	homis	human	homis	human
		R. II	təmis	timan	təmis	timan

Abl.

1st		me	asi	me	asi
2nd		tse	tɔhi	tse	tɔhi
3rd	Prox.	yemi	yimav	yemi	yimav
	R. I	homi	humav	homi	humav
	R. II	tami	timav	tami	timav

Erg.

1st		me	asi	me	asi
2nd		tse	tɔhi	tse	tɔhi
3rd	Prox.	yem'	yimav	yemi	yimav
	R. I	hom'	humav	homi	humav
	R. II	təm'	timav	tami	timav

Genitive/Possessive

Following are the forms of pronouns in genitive case agree ing with the complement/modifiee in number and gender and with the modifier in person and number:

Modifier Person	Complement Gender and Number			
	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl
1st Sg.	m'o:n	me:n'	me:n'	m'a:ni
1st Pl.	so:n	sə:n'	sə:n'	sa:ni
2nd Sg.	co:n	cə:n'	cə:n'	ca:ni
2nd Pl.	tuhund	tuhɨnd'	tuhɨnz	tuhɨnzɨ
3rd Sg. Prox.	yem'sund	yem'sɨnd'	yem'sɨnz	yem'sɨnzɨ
3rd Pl	yihund	yihɨnd'	yihɨnz	yihanzɨ
3rd Sg R.I	hom'sund	hom'sɨnd'	hom'sɨnz	hom'sɨnzɨ
3rd Pl	huhund	huhɨnd'	huhɨnz	huhɨnzɨ
3rd Sg R.II	təm'sund	təm'sɨnd'	təm'sɨnz	təm'sɨnzɨ
3rd Pl	tihund	tihɨnd'	tihɨnz	tihɨnzɨ

All pronouns are free. They occur in all positions. They can be dropped if they are recoverable from the verb or from the context. Kashmiri has a system of pronominal suffixes/clitics, which are added to the verbs to refer to the subject, object, and indirect object. (See Hook and Koul 1984: 123-135, Wali and Koul 1994, Wali and Koul 1997.) Status distinction is indicated by using the plural pronominal forms instead of singular forms. Occasionally, honorific titles *ma:hra:*, *haz* and *jina:b* 'sir' may also be used after the second person plural forms used for honorific singular

subjects. The honorific *ma:hra:* is used with Hindus, *haz* with Muslims, and *jina:b* is a neutral term used for any person.Emphatic forms of pronouns are formed by adding emphatic particle *-ɨy* to the pronouns in all cases. When this particle is added as a suffix to the pronoun, certain phonological changes take place. The emphatic forms in nominative are given below.

Person		Masculine		Feminine	
		Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
First		bɨy	əsiy	bɨy	əsiy
Second		tsɨy	tohiy	tsɨy	tohiy
Third	Prox.	yihoy	yimay	yihə:y	yimay
	R.I	hohay	humay	yɔhə:y	humay
	R.II	suy	timay	sɔy	timay

3.12.2. Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns have the same forms as the personal third person pronouns. There are, however, some additional demonstrative pronouns such as ti 'that (out of sight) that is used with inanimate nouns. Its dative form is *tath.* The demonstrative pronouns are used as demonstrative adjectives also.

3.1.2.3. Indefinite pronoun

There are no special indefinite pronouns. The indefinite ness is expressed in different ways: (i) by using the second person pronoun; (ii) by omitting third person pronouns; (iii) by using generic nouns such as *yinsa:n, manuš* 'man/human'; and (iv) by using indefinite quantifiers such as *kã:h* 'someone.'

3.1.2.4. Relative pronouns

The relative pronoun yus 'who, which, that' is inflected for number, gender and case. Forms are as follows:

	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
Nom	yus	yim	yɔs	yim
Dat	yemis	yiman	yemis	yiman
Abl	yemi	yimav	yemi	yimav
Erg	yem'	yimav	yemi	yimav
Gen	yem'sund	yihund	yem'sɨnz	yehnzɨ

3.1.2.5. Reflexive pronouns

The main reflexive in Kashmiri is *pa:n* 'self.' The compound form *panun pa:n* ' compares with Hindi *apne a:p*. The case forms of *pa:n* are as follows:

Nominative	pa:n
Dative	pa:nas
Ablative	pa:nɨ
Ergative	pa:nan

In possessive structures, the reflexive form *panun* 'self' is used in place of personal possessive pronouns. The possessive *panun* agrees with the following noun in number and gender as shown below:

Case	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	panun	panɨn'	panɨn'	panɨn'
Dat.	panɨnis	panɨn'an	panɨni	panɨn'an
Abl.	panɨni	panɨn'av	panɨni	panɨn'av
Erg.	panɨn'	panɨn'av	panɨni	panɨn'av
Gen.	panɨn'sund	panɨn'sɨnd'	panɨn'sɨnz	panɨn'sɨnzɨ

The genitive forms are used in idiomatic contexts only. The emphatic forms are: *pə:n' pa:nɨ* 'only by self' and *pa:nay* 'self.'

The reciprocal form is akh əkis 'to one another.' It is a compound of the cardinal akh 'one' and its dative case form əkis. The distributive form is *pa:nɨvə:n'* 'mutual.' The case forms of reciprocal are as follows: dative *akh əkis*; genitive *akh ək'sund* (msg) *akh ək'sɨnd'* (mpl) *akh ək'sɨnz* (fsg), *akh ək'sɨnzɨ* (fpl). There is no nominative/absolutive form of the reciprocal and the dative form is used where nominative/absolutive is required.

3.1.2.6. Interrogative pronouns

There are two main interrogative forms: *kus* 'who,' and *ki* 'what.' The case forms of interrogatives *kus* 'who' and *k'a:* 'what' are given below.

Interrogative kus 'who'

Case	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl
Nom.	kus	kam	kɔs	kamɨ
Dat.	kəmis/kas	kɨman	kəmis/kas	kɨman

Abl.	kami	kɨmav	kami	kɨmav
Erg.	kəm'	kɨmav	kami	kɨmav
Gen.	kəm'sund	kəm'sɨnd'	kəm'sɨnz	kəm'sɨnzɨ
	kɨman hund	kɨmanhɨnd'	kɨman hɨnz	kɨman hɨnzɨ
	kuhund	kɨhɨnd'	kɨhɨnz	kɨhɨnzɨ

Interrogative k'a: 'what'

Case	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl
Nom.	k'a:	k'a:	k'a:	k'a:
Dat.	kath	kɨman	kath	kɨman
Abl.	kami	kɨmav	kami	kɨmav
Gen.	kam'uk	kamik'	kamic	kamici

Other question words also begin with the question element *k* sound. These question words include adverbs, qualifiers and interrogative adjectives. The question words are: *kus h'uv* 'which one,' *kar* 'when,' *k'a:zi* 'why,' *kati* 'where,' *kapə:r'* 'which direction,' *kithɨ kɨn'* 'how/ which manner,' *ko:ta:h* 'how much' etc. Some of them have their alternate forms as well. Their forms along with their demonstrative forms are given below.

kati/katen/katinas/kateth 'where

Prox.	R.I(within sight)	R.II(out of sight)
yeti	hoti	tati
yeten	hoten	taten
yetinas	hotinas	tatinas
yeteth	hoteth	tateth

kapə:r' 'which direction'

yapə:r'	həpə:r'	tapə:r'
kithɨkin'	'in what manner'	
yithɨki'	huthɨkin'	tithɨkin'

ku:ta:h 'how much'

yu:ta:h	hu:ta:h	t'u:ta:

3.1.3 Adjectives

There are two types of adjectives: (i) Base adjectives and (ii) Derived adjectives. The base adjectives are inherent in nature and are not derived from any other grammatical category. The derived adjectives are those which are formed from nominal, verbal and other adjectival bases by adding certain suffixes. Examples are given below:

Base		Suffix	Derived	
mal	'dirt'	-ɨ	mə:lɨ	'dirty'
gula:b	'rose'	-C'	gulə:b'	'pink'
də:r	'beard'	-al	da:r'al	'bearded'
mazɨ	'taste'	-da:r	mazɨda:r	'tasty'
madad	'help'	-ga:r	madadga:r	'helpful'
kɨ:math	'price'	-i:	kɨ:mti:	'expensive'

Adjectives can be further divided into two classes (i) those which are inflected for number, gender and case of the noun they modify and (ii) those which are not. Examples of the first category of adjectives are given below along with their inflected forms:

n'u:l 'blue

	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	n'u:l	ni:l'	ni:j	ni:ji
Dat.	ni:lis	ni:len	ni:ji	ni:jan
Abl.	ni:li	ni:l'av	ni:ji	ni:jav
Erg.	ni:l'	ni:l'av	ni:ji	ni:jav

Examples:

n'u:l ko:ṭh	'blue coat'	ni:l' ko:ṭh	'blue coats'
ni:j kəmi:z	'blue shirt'	ni:ji kəmi:zɨ	'blue shirts'

Other adjectives which fall under this category are: *vɔzul* 'red,' *kruhun* 'black' *ga:ṭ ul* 'wise,' *tshoṭ* 'short/dwarf,' *z'u:ṭh* 'tall' etc.

The adjectives like *sa:ph* 'clean,' *mə:lɨ* 'dirty' *ja:n* 'good,' *da:na:* 'wise' *sabɨ* 'green,' *saphe:d* 'white,' etc, fall in the second category. Examples:

sa:ph kamrɨ 'clean room' sa:ph palav 'clean clothes'
sa:ph kursi: 'clean chair' sa:ph kursiyi 'clean chairs'

Adjectives can either be qualitative or quantitative. The qualitative constitutes a large class. All the modifiers of quality like different colours (*vɔzul* 'red,' *n'u:l* 'blue,' *saphe:d* 'white' etc), personal qualities (*ca:la:kh* 'clever,' *da:na:* 'wise' *buzdil* 'coward' etc), physical qualities (*thod* 'tall,' *tshoṭ* 'short,' *v'ṭoh* 'fat,' *zə:v'ul* 'slim' etc), qualities of taste (*modur* 'sweet,' *tsok* 'sour,' *ṭ'oṭh* 'bitter'etc.) fall under this category.

The quantitative category includes the numerals (cardinals, ordinals, fractions, multiplicatives), intensifiers (*kẽh* 'some,' *sə:ri:* 'all,' *seṭha:* 'many/very,' *kam* 'little'), demonstrative adjectives (*yu:t* 'this much,' *t'u:t* 'that much'), etc.

3. 2. Verb Morphology

Verbs are classified as intransitives, transitives, and causatives, with further sub classification such as statives and actives. There is also a special group of verbs that require their subject to be in the dative. Some of these dative verbs have a thematic argument, which is marked nominative.

3.2.1. Intransitive verbs

Intransitive verbs, stative or active, have only one argument, namely the subject. The subject of most intransitives is marked with the nominative case across all tenses. A few exceptional intransitives like *natsun* 'to dance,' *vadun* 'to cry': take ergative subjects in the past tense.

1. bɨ notsus/ me nots
   I-nom danced-1/ I-erg danced
   'I danced.'

2. təm' vod
   he-erg wept
   'He wept.'

3.2.2. Transitive verbs

Transitive verbs may have two or three arguments. The arguments may be subject, direct object, and indirect object. In the past tense these verbs take ergative case invariably. The verbs which take only a direct object are known as monotransitives, and the verbs which take direct as well as

indirect objects are called double or ditransitives. Examples are given below:

3. aslaman kh'av batɨ
   Aslam-erg ate food
   'Aslam ate food.'

4. aslaman d'ut mohnas akhba:r
   Aslam-erg gave Mohan-dat newspaper
   'Aslam gave a newspaper to Mohan.'

Certain transitive verbs may be derived from intransitive verbs by vowel changes:

Intransitive		Transitive	
tar	'cross'	ta:r	'take across'
mar	'die'	ma:r	'kill'
gal	'melt'	ga:l	'melt'
ḍal	'move'	ḍa:l	'move'

3.2.3. Dative verbs

Dative verbs form a special class, known as psychological predicates. The subject of these predicates is marked dative in all tenses and aspects. Some of these verbs may also take a second argument, and so called thematic object. This object is marked nominative. The class is mostly comprised of verbs of perception, knowledge, belief, mental and physical state, and verbs of desire etc.

3.2.4. Causative verbs

Causative verbs are formed from intransitive, transitive and di-transitive verbs by a productive process of suffixation. Two causative suffixes (i) -*a:v/-ɨna:v* (called the first causative suffix) and (ii) -*ɨna:vɨna:v* (called second causative suffix) are added to first causal forms. All the vowel ending roots and a few consonant ending verb stems take -*a:v* as a first causal suffix, while all others take -*ɨna:v*. Some vowel ending stems take any of the two suffixes. The second causative suffix -*ɨna:vɨna:v* is added to all the consonant ending verb stems directly, it is added after the first causal suffixes in the vowel ending stems.

Stem		Caus.I	Caus.II
khe	'eat'	kh'a:v/kh'a:vɨna:v	kh'a:vɨna:vɨna:v
he	'buy'	h'a:v/h'a:vɨna:v	h'a:vɨna:vɨna:v
di	'give'	d'a:v/d'a:vɨna:v	d'a:vɨna:vɨna:v
ni	'take'	n'a:v/n'a:vɨna:v	d'a:vɨna:vɨna:v
mitsar	'open'	mitsɨra:v	mitsɨra:vɨna:v
a:par	'feed'	a:pra:v	a:pɨra:vɨna:v
par	'read'	parɨna:v	parɨna:vɨna:v

The process of causativization results in certain morphophonemic changes.

There are some verbs which have dual valency. They can be used either transitively or intransitively. Sometimes, the direct object can be dropped to render their corresponding inransitive usage. These verbs are: *parun* 'read, study (in school etc.), *sõ:cun* 'to think,' *za:nun* 'to understand.'

3.2.5. Inflection of Verbs

Verbs are inflected for voice, tense, aspect, mood and person-number-gender. They are briefly discussed below.

3.2.5.1. Voice

Traditionally there are two voices: Active and Passive. The passive formation involves changes not only in the verb form, but also changes in the subject case and addition of explicator/auxiliary verb. The passive involves following changes:

(i) the subject of the active sentence is followed by the compound postposition *-ɨni/ɨdi zəriyi* 'by' (*-ɨni/ɨndi* are the forms of a genitive postposition followed by ablative case),

(ii) the auxiliary/explicator verb yun 'come' is employed, and the passive marker *-nɨ* is added to the main verb root. The explicator receives the tense aspectagreement endings. The former object is in the nominativeand controls the agreement on *yun*.

Passive transitive sentences express both the personal passive as well as the capability meaning. The intransitive passive conveys only the

capability meaning. Though agents can be dropped in both the constructions, it is more frequently done in the case of personal passive.

1. kita:b a:yi nɨ parnɨ
   book came-fs neg read-pass
   'The book was not read.'
   (or 'The book couldn't be read.)

2. to:r a:v nɨ gatshnɨ
   there came neg go-pass
   'No one could go there.'

Only the direct object is sensitive to passivization and indirect objects cannot be passivized.

3.2.5.2. Tense

3.2.5.2.1. Present Tense

The present indicative tense is formed by using the present form of the auxiliary verb 'be' and the imperfective aspectual marker *-a:n*, added to the main verb stem. The auxiliary is placed in the second position and is inflected for number, gender, person and case as follows:

Nom.case

Person	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1st	chus	chi	chas	cha
2nd	chukh	chiv	chakh	chavɨ
3rd	chu	chi	cha	cha

Masculine plural forms of second and third person subjects are used for honorific singulars as well. In case the subject noun is in dative case, following forms of the auxiliary verb 'be' are used:

Dative case

Person	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl
1st/3rd	chu	chi	cha	cha
2nd(sg.)	chuy	chiy	chay	chay
2nd (pl/hon)	chuvɨ	chivɨ	chavɨ	chavɨ

Note that if the dative verb has a theme, then the verb shows agreement with the theme.

3.2.5.2.2. Past Tense

Morphologically past tense has three forms: proximate/simple, indefinite, and remote. The proximate past forms are derived by means of the infix *-v/y*. The indefinite and remote past are formed by adding the suffixes to the verb stem, noted in the second and third line respectively. The addition incurs certain morphophonemic changes in the verb stem.

Person		Masculine		Feminine	
		Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1st /3rd	I	-v	-yi	yi	-yi
	II	-yo:v	-e:yi	-e:yi	-e:yi
	III	-e:yo:v	-e:ye:yi	-e:ye:yi	-e:ye:yi
2nd (sg)		-yo:th	-e:yath	-e:yath	-e:yath
		-ye:yo:th	-e:yath	-e:yath	-e:yath
2nd (pl)		-yo:vɨ	-e:yvɨ	-e:yvɨ	-e:yvɨ
		-e:yo:vɨ	-e:ye:yvɨ	-e:ye:yvɨ	-e:ye:yvɨ

The paradigms of intransitive and transitive verbs in the past are different. Note that in the past, the subject of transitives and a few exceptional intransitives is marked ergative and the direct object, which may be animate or inanimate, takes nominative case.

Transitive verbs agree with the absolutive object in gender and number. In case the subject is first or third person, forms of the verbs agreeing with the object in gender and number are given as per the following examples:

Verb		Masculine		Feminine	
		Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
par	'read'	por	pər'	pər	pari
chal	'wash'	chol	chəl'	chəj	chaji
an	'bring'	on	ən'	ən'	ani
khe	'eat'	khev	kheyi	kheyi	kheyi
ni	'take'	n'uv˙	niyi	niyi	niyi

In Kashmiri, the second person is a highly marked category. The verb obligatorily inflects for second person pronominal suffixes irrespective of the category of the second person. In the past tense the second person ergative subject marks the verb with *-th/ov* (sg/pl), in contrast to first and third person. These second person suffixes of the subject follow the gender number suffixes of the absolutive object. The following personal suf fixes

are added to the above given inflected forms (i.e. 1st/3rd person forms) for deriving the second person singular forms.

	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
(i)	-uth	-ith	-ɨth	-yath
(ii)	-o:th	-yath	-yath	-yath

The suffixes in (i) are added to the consonant ending verb forms and those in (ii) are added to the vowel ending verb forms.

Verb forms of the second person

Masculine		Feminine	
Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
poruth	pərith	pərɨth	par'ath
choluth	chəlith	chəjith	chajath
onuth	ənith	ənith	an'ath
kh'o:th	kheyath	kheyath	kheyath
n'u:th	niyath	niyaṭh	niyath

The suffix -vɨ is added to the inflected forms given above for the 1st/3rd person forms to derive the second person plural subject forms. These forms are used for honorific singulars as well.

Masculine		Feminine	
Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
porvɨ	pərivɨ	pərɨvi	parivɨ
cholvɨ	chəlivɨ	chəjivɨ	chajivɨ
onvɨ	ənivɨ	ənivɨ	anivɨ
kh'o:vɨ	kheyvɨ	kheyivɨ	kheyɨvɨ
n'uvi	niyivɨ	niyivɨ	niyivi

Most intransitive verbs, with few exceptions noted below, agree in person, gender and number with the subject, which is in the nominative case. Some intransitives undergo transitive type morphophonemic changes others do not change. The forms of the intransitive verbs used with the first person subject are given below:

Verb		Masculine		Feminine	
		Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
gatsh	'go'	go:s	gəyi	gəyas	gəyi

yi	'come'	a:s	a:yi	a:yas	a:yi
pak	'walk'	pokus	pək'	pəcis	paci
vas	'descend'	vothus	vəth'	vətshɨs	vatshɨ
khas	'climb'	khotus	khət'	khətsɨs	khatsɨ

In case the subject is second person non-honorific singular, following suffixes are added to the verb stems.

	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
	-kh	-ivɨ	-akh	-ivɨ
Examples:				
	go:kh	gəyivɨ	gəyakh	gəyivɨ
	a:kh	a:yɨvɨ	a:yakh	a:yivɨ
	pokukh	pəkivɨ	pəcɨkh	pacivɨ
	vothukh	vəthivɨ	vətshɨkh	vatshivɨ
	khotukh	khətivɨ	khətsɨkh	khatsivɨ

The exceptional intransitives like *asun* 'to laugh,' *natsun* 'to dance' and *vadun* 'weep,' mark their subject in ergative case and show neutral agreement. The forms are as follows:

Person	Verb	Masculine		Feminine	
		Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl
1st/3rd	asun	os	os	os	os
2nd		osuth	osivɨ	osuth	osivɨ
Ist/3rd	vadun	vod	vod	vod	vod
2nd		voduth	vodɨvɨ	voduth	voduvɨ
1st/3rd	natsun	nots	nots	nots	nots
2nd		notsuth	notsɨvɨ	notsuth	notsivɨ

Morphologically, past tense is sub classified according to the degree of remoteness also. There are two degrees of remoteness: Remote I and Remote II. These are indicated by adding the following suffixes to the verb roots agreeing with the object in gender and number, and with the subject in the second person as shown below. Adding of the above suffixes result in different morphophonemic changes. Examples of their use are given below.

Person	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1st /3rd	par'o:v	pare:yi	pare:yi	pare:yi

	pare:yo:v	pare:ya:yi	pare:ya:yi	pare:ya:yi
	niyo:v	niye:yi	niye:yi	niye:yi
	niye:yo:v	niye:ya:yi	niye:ya:yi	niye:ya:yi
2nd Sg.	par'o:th	pare:yath	pare:yath	pare:yath
	pare:yo:th	pare:yath	pare:yath	pare:yath
	niyo:th	niye:yath	niye:yath	niye:yath
	niye:yo:th	niye:yath	niye:yath	niye:yath
2nd Pl.	par'o:vɨ	pare:yvɨ	pare:yvɨ	pare:yvɨ
	pare:yo:vɨ	pare:ye:yvɨ	pare:ye:yvɨ	pare:ye:yvɨ
	niyo:vɨ	niye:yvɨ	niye:yvɨ	niye:yvɨ
	niye:yo:vɨ	niye:yvɨ	niye:yvɨ	niye:yvɨ

Notice that Remote II forms are different for masculine singulars only in the case of certain verbs. The following suffixes are added to the intransitive verbs in the simple past for deriving their remote forms.

Person	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1st	-yo:s	-e:yi	-e:yas	-e:yi
	-e:yo:s	-e:ye:yi	-e:ye:yas	-e:ye:yi
2nd	-yo:kh	-e:yvɨ	-e:yakh	-e:yvɨ
	-ye:yo:kh	-e:yvɨ	-e:yakh	-e:yvɨ
3rd	-yo:v	-e:yi	-e:yi	-e:yi
	-e:yo:v	-e:ye:yi	-e:ye:yi	-e:ye:yi

3.2.5.2.3. Future tense

The future tense is formed by adding two types of suffixes: (i) agreeing with the subject in person and number, and (ii) agreeing with the subject in person and number and with the object in number. The gender distinctions are absent in both types. The first type of future is formed by adding the following suffixes to consonant ending verb stems agreeing with the subject in number and person.

Person	Singular	Plural
1st	-ɨ	-a
2nd	-akh	-ɨ
3rd	-i	-an

The following suffixes are added to the vowel ending verb stems:

Person	Singular	Plural
1st	-mɨ	-mav
2nd	-kh	-yi
3rd	-yi	-n

The second type of suffixes indicate the person and number of the subject as well as the number of the object.

Person		Singular	Plural
1st	Sg.	-an	-akh
1st	Pl.	-ɨho:n	-ɨho:kh
2nd	Sg.	-ɨhə:n	-ɨhə:kh
2nd	Pl.	-ihu:n	-ihu:kh
3rd	Sg.	-yas	-yakh
3rd	Pl.	-ɨnas	-ɨnakh

Since the subject noun can be indicated by the suffixes, it can be optionally dropped. In that case the word order of the sentence undergoes a change as exemplified below.

1. tsɨ parakh dəh kita:bɨ = dəh kita:bɨ parakh
   you read-fu ten books
   'You will read ten books.'
2. tsɨ vuchakh philim = philim vuchakh
   you see-fu film
   'You will watch a movie.'

Future tense is used to indicate not only future time but also probability. Morphologically, future is neither subdivided according to the degree in remoteness nor does it have any modal or aspectual value. The future perfect is formed by using the past participial form of the main verb and the future form of the auxiliary verb 'be.'

3.2.5.3. Aspect

3.2.5.3.1. Perfective

The perfective aspect is formed by the use of auxiliary verbs and by adding the following suffixes to the past inflected forms of the main verb stems agreeing with the object in gender and number in case of transitive verbs, and with the subject in case of intransitive verbs.

Masculine		Feminine	
Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
-mut	-mit'	-mits	-matsɨ

The perfective aspect occurs in three tenses: present perfect, past perfect and future perfect, marked by present, past and future copular forms respectively. The present, past and future forms of the copular verb in the ergative case are as follows:

Present tense

Person	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl
1st /3rd	chu	chi	cha	cha
2nd Sg.	chuth	chith	chath	chath
2nd Pl.	chuvɨ	chivɨ	chavɨ	chavɨ

Past tense

Person	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl
1st/3rd	o:s	ə:s'	ə:s	a:sɨ
2nd Sg.	o:suth	ə:sith	ə:sɨth	a:sath
2nd Pl.	o:sɨvɨ	ə:sivɨ	ə:sɨvɨ	a:sɨvɨ

Future tense

Person	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl
1st /3rd	a:si	a:san	a:si	a:san
2nd Sg.	a:seth	a:snath	a:seth	a:snath
2nd Pl.	a:sivɨ	a:sinav	a:sivɨ	a:sɨnav

The subject noun/pronoun is used in ergative case. The perfective aspect can be used in the present, past and future reference. Perfective can be used to indicate the situation which has taken place previously leading to the present. Perfective can be used to indicate the result of a past situation.

3.2.5.3.2. Imperfective

The imperfective aspect marker *-a:n* is added to the main verb stems and the auxiliary verb is inflected for tense, gender, number, person and case. The imperfective aspect reflects progressive present, universal a habitual act. Stative verbs can also be used in the imperfective aspect.

3.2.5.3.3. Progressive

The progressive aspect is expressed by the aspect marker *-a:n* added to main verb stem. The auxiliary verb is inflected by the tense, gender,

number, person and case markers. Notice that the aspect markers for progressive and imperfect aspect are identical.

1. aslam chu kita:b para:n
   Aslam is book read-pr.
   'Aslam is reading a book.'

The progressive aspect is used with active verbs alone. Stative verbs are not used in the progressive aspect. Kashmiri makes a distinction between regular and intermittent habituality (frequentatives). Frequentatives are expressed by compound verb constructions involving perfective or imperfective aspect.

Main verb Explicator
stem + imperfect -a:n a:s 'be' + imperfect -a:n

2. sɔ cha asa:n a:sa:n
   she is laugh-imperfect be-pr.
   'She laugh frequently.'

There are no special aspect markers to express simultaneous aspect. It is expressed by using participial forms as adverbs of the matrix verb. The participial forms are duplicated.

3. aslam chu asa:n asa:n kathɨ kara:n
   Aslam is laugh-pr laugh-pr talk do-pr
   'Aslam talks smiling.'

The aspectual system is subject to certain formal and grammatical constraints. The aspectual imperfective/progressive markers are suffixed to the verb stems. The copular verb 'be' is inflected for tense, person, gender and number. The inflected forms of perfective are derived as a result of adding perfective -ø marker to the verb stems. Wherever main verbs and explicators are used, there are co-restrictions on their use. There are other restrictions on grammatical and semantic grounds on the combinations of various aspectual combinations. For example, the following combinations will result in ungrammatical sentences:

Habitual + completive, Completive + iterative, Progressive + stative verbs, Durative + iterative etc.

3.2.5.4. Mood

Mood is associated with the manner of action indicated by the verb. Moods can be expressed by means of modal verbs and /or auxiliaries. There is no

special marking for the indicative mood. It is obligatorily present in simple declarative sentences. It contrasts with other moods such as imperative, and conditional, which are overtly marked.

3.2.5.4.1. Conditional

The conditional markers are added to the auxiliary stem *a:s* 'be.' In the absence of the auxiliary they are added to the main verb. The markers are used along with the aspectual forms of main verbs. The conditional markers are as follows agreeing with the subject in person and number in case of subjectival constructions using intransitive verbs, and also with the object in objectival constructions using transitive verbs (Koul 1977:37):

Person	Subjectival		Objectival	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1st	-ɨhə:	-ɨhə:v	-ihe:	-ɨhə:v
2nd	-ɨhə:kh	-ɨhɨ:v	-ihe:th	-ihe:v
3rd	-ihe:	-ɨhə:n	-ihe:	-ɨhə:n

Conditional with the auxiliary *a:s* 'be':

1. bɨ a:sɨhə: go:mut
   I be-cond. go-pastp.
   'I would have gone.'

Conditional without the auxiliary:

2. bɨ parɨhə: kita:b magar me miij nɨ
   read-cond. book but I-dat get-fs neg
   'I would have read the book but I couldn't get it.'

Notice that conditional imperfect/perfect/progressive sentences can be formed without adding the conditional markers to the copular verb, but the sentences become ambiguous between the conditional and the future meaning.

3. su a:si kita:b le:kha:n
   he be-cond. book write-pr.
   'He may be writing a book' or
   'He will be writing a book.'

3.2.6. Non-finite verb forms

The non finite verb forms are of two types: infinitives and participles. It should be noted here that the non-finite verbal forms are not sensitive to

tense, voice, aspect and mood. The past and present participles forms maintain their aspectual reference.

3.2.6.1. Infinitive

Infinitives are derived by means of the marker *-UN* added to the verb stem. The stems ending in vowels undergo certain morphophonemic changes. The infinitive marker agrees with the gender and number of intransitive subjects and transitive objects just in case they are in the nominative case. The infinitive does not agree with the oblique arguments. The forms of the marker are as follows:

	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
	-un	-ɨn'	-ɨn'	-ɨni

Examples:

par-	parun	parɨn'	parɨn'	parɨni
vuch-	vuchun	vuchɨn'	vuchɨn'	vuchɨni
di-	d'un	din'	din'	dini
pe-	p'on	pen'	pen'	peni

3.2.6.2. Participles

3.2.6.2.1. Present Participle

The present participle is marked by the suffix *-a:n* added to the verb stem. The glide *v* is inserted if the stem ends in a vowel. The participle does not inflect for gender and number. These markers are carried by the auxiliary which always accompanies the participle in the root clause.

le:kh	'write'	+	a:n	=	le:kha:n
ce	'drink'	+	va:n	=	ceva:n

3.2.6.2.2. Perfect Participle

The perfect participle is marked by the suffix mut. It is used to form present, past and future perfect forms of the verb. The marker agrees with the intransitive nominative subject, and with the nominative transitive direct object. The forms of the market are as follows:

Masculine		Feminine	
Sg	Pl	Sg	PI
-mut	-mɨt'	-mɨts	-matsɨ

Examples:

pormut	pər'mɨt'	pərmɨts	parimatsɨ
l'u:khmut	li:kh'mɨt'	li:chmɨts	le:chimatsɨ
du'tmut	dit'mɨt'	ditsmɨts	ditsɨmatsɨ
co:mut	cemɨt'	cemɨts	cemɨtsɨ

3.2.6.2.3. Conjunctive Participle

The conjunctive takes the suffix *-ith*. The suffix stays invariant, unlike the past participle and the infinitive. The negative conjunctive participle is formed by the negative suffix *-nay* 'not/without'

1. təm' ceyi ca:y akhba:r pərith
   he-erg drank tea newspaper read-ptc
   'He drank tea after reading the newspaper.'

The conjunctive participle functions as an adverbial clause and is used to express an act that precedes the main clause act.

3. 3. Adverbs

Adverbs may be classified into various subgroups: (a) basic adverbs, (b) derived adverbs, (c) phrasal adverbs, (d) reduplicated adverbs, and (d) particles.

The basic adverbs are either pure adverbs like *az* 'today,' *hame:ši* 'always' or noun/adjective adverbs. Derived adverbs such as locatives and directional, are formed by adding certain adverbial suffixes to the base form of the demonstrative, relative, correlative, and interrogative pronouns.

The locative adverbs are marked by suffixes such as *-ti/-ten/-tinas: yeti/yeten/yetinas* 'here,' *hoti/hoten/hotinas* 'there,' *tati/taten/tatinas* 'there, *kati/katen/katinas* 'where.' The directional adverbs are marked by the suffix *-pə:r': yepə:r'* 'in this direction,' *hopə:r'* 'in that direction' (remote I), *tapər'* 'in that direction' (remote II), *kapə:r'* 'in which direction.' The manner adverbs are formed by adding the suffixes *-thɨkin'/ -pə:ṭh': yithɨkin'/yithɨpə:ṭh'* 'in this manner'

huthɨkin'/huthɨpə:ṭh' 'in that manner' (Remote I),
tithɨkin'/tithɨpə:ṭh' 'in that manner' (Remote II)
kithɨkin,/kithɨpə:ṭh' in which manner.'

The phrasal adverbs are formed by adding a simple or a com pound postposition to a noun, as follows:

1. treyi retɨ patɨ
   three-obl month-obl after
   'after three months'

2. parnɨ brõh
   read-inf-obl before
   'before reading'

3. duka:nas patɨ kani
   shop-dat back side
   'in the backside of the shop'

Adverbs are reduplicated for showing the intensity and distribution as follows: *te:z te:z* 'fast,' *va:rɨ va:rɨ* 'slow,' *kot kot* 'where,' *kar kar* 'when', *kuni kuni* 'sometimes' etc. The reduplicated adverbs may be separated by the nagative particles *natɨ* as in the phrases *kuni natɨ kuni vizi* 'sometime or other.' This category of adverbials express indefiniteness The emphatic particle *-ɨy (yo:t)* can co-occur with an adverb or a noun to render adverbial reading: *vakhitɨy yo:t* 'only/merely time,' *aslamɨy yo:t* 'only Aslam,' etc.

Various overt cases and postpositions such as dative, locative, ablative, and instrumental are employed with a noun to render adverbial reading. For example, *subɨhas* 'in the morning,' *de:va:ras peṭh* 'on the wall,' *gari peṭhɨ* 'from the house,' *šra:pɨci sɨ:t'* 'with the knife,' etc.

Adverbs may also be grouped by their functional use:

(a) adverbs of time/duration: *az* 'today,' *ra:th* 'yesterday' *subɨhan* 'in the morning,' etc.,
(b) adverbs of place or direction: *andar* 'in/inside,' *nebar* 'out/ outside,'
(c) adverbs of manner: *a:sə:ni: sa:n* 'easily,' *va:rɨ va:rɨ* 'slowly,' etc.,
(d) adverbs of reason: *gəri:bi: kin'* for the reason of poverty,' *kamzu:ri: kin'* 'for the reason of weakness,'
(e) adverbs of instrument: *kalmɨ sɨ:t'* 'with pen,' *šra:pci sɨ:t'* 'with knife' etc.,
(f) adverbs of purpose: *parnɨ khə:trɨ* 'for reading,' *ka:mi khə:trɨ* 'for work,'
(g) comitative adverbs: X *-as sɨ:t'* 'with/ in the company of X,' and
(h) adverbs of degree/intensity: *seṭha:* 'very,' *kə:phi:* 'enough,' *kha:l kã:h* 'hardly any,' *lagbag* 'approximately,' etc.

Note that adverbs may be placed in preverbal or postverbal position in a simple clause. They are always optional and do not occupy any fixed position.

4. Syntax

In this section various phrases and sentence types are described. Phrases are described as constituents of different sentences.

4.1. Phrases

There are four major types of phrases in Kashmiri: (a) noun phrase, (b) adjective phrase, (c) adverb phrase, and (d) postpositional phrase. The structure of these phrases is described below.

4.1.1. Noun phrases

A simple noun phrase may consist of a noun, pronoun, or a nonfinite sentential clause. The complex may consist of relative clauses or complex noun phrases. A noun phrase may function as subject, object, or indirect object. It also occurs as a complement of a postposition or as a predicate nominal of a copula. There are no articles in Kashmiri. However, a demonstrative pronoun does at times function as a definite article. There is also an indefinite article suffix *-a:/a:h*. A noun phrase is modified by an adjective, or a relative clause. Some examples have been given below.

Definite
hu lədkɨ
'that boy'
Indefinite
akh lədka:h
one boy-indef
'some boy'
Adjective plus noun
nəv kita:b
'new book'
Relative clause plus noun
yus ko:ṭh tse h'otuth su
rel coat you-erg bought that
'the coat which you bought'

4.1.2. Adjective phrases

An adjective phrase is part of a noun phrase. The adjective phrase may consist of an adjective itself or may expand as a relative clause.

1. yi bəḍ kita:b
   'this big book'

2. hum tre bəḍ' me:z
   'those three big tables'

3. yɔs kita:b tami ən' sɔ
   that book she-er me-dat brought-fs that-fs
   'the book which she brought'

Adjectives may be modified by adverbs.

4. yi chu seṭha: boḍ kul
   this is very big tree
   'This is a very big tree.'

4.1.3. Adverbial phrases

Adverbial phrases may consist of simple or derived adverbs, postpositional phrases, or a string of adverbs as exemplified below.

5. šur chu te:z do:ra:n
   child is fast run-pr
   'The child runs very fast.'

6. su chu seṭha: zo:rɨ zo:rɨ kathɨ kara:n
   'He talks very loudly.'

4.1.4. Postpositional phrase

A postpositional phrase consists of a noun phrase followed by a postposition. Postpositions can be divided into three types: postpositions that require a dative case on their noun phrase, postpositions that require an ablative case, and those that require no case. Postpositional phrases usually function as adverbs.

7. kita:b cha me:zas peṭh
   book is table-dat on
   'The book is on the table.'

8. tavliya: cha ḅa:lṭi:nas manz
towel is bucket-dat in
'The towel is in the bucket.'

9. me ən' nəv' palav šuren kith'
I brought new clothes children-dat for
'I brought new clothes for children.'

10. su a:v gari peṭhɨ
he came home-abl from
'He came from his home.'

It is worth noting here that certain postpositions such as a:snay, varə:y, badlɨ 'without/instead' modify verbs and infinitives.

11. su chu šra:n karɨnay daphtar gatsha:n
he is bath do-without office go-pr
'He goes to office without taking his bath.'

12. su a:v va:pas ciṭh' ha:vɨnay
he came back letter show-without
'He came back without showing the letter.'

4.2. Sentence Types

This section describes simple,complex and compound sentence types. Major simple sentence types are: copular, declarative, imperative, and interrogative. The complex constructions involve subordinate clause(s). The formation of compound sentence is only through coordination

4.2.1. Simple Constructions

4.2.1.1. Copular sentences

The verb *a:sun* 'to be' is employed in the copular sentences. The copula may take a predicate noun, predicate adjective, or a predicate adverb as a complement. Examples:

1. su chu ḍa:kṭar
he is doctor
'He is a doctor'

2. sɔ cha zi:ṭh
she is tall
'She is tall.'

3. təm'sɨnz a:va:z cha mədɨr
his/her voice is sweet
'His/Her voice is sweet.'

The copular verb is obligatorily retained in both affirmative as well as negative sentences. In the case of coordinate structures, it is optionally deleted under identity.

4. mohnɨ chu vaki:l / * mohnɨ vaki:l
Mohan is lawyer
'Mohan is a lawyer.'

5. aslam chu nɨ ḍa:kṭar /* aslam nɨ ḍa:kṭar
Aslam is not doctor
'Aslam is not a doctor.'

6. aslam tɨ mohnɨ chi ḍa:kṭar
'Aslam and Mohan are doctors.'

6a. aslam chu ḍa:kṭar tɨ mohnɨ ti
Aslam is doctor and Mohan also
'Aslam is a doctor and so is Mohan.'

6b. na chu aslam vəki:l tɨ na mohnɨ
not is Aslam lawyer and not Mohan
'Neither Aslam nor Mohan are lawyers.'

The copula is used for universal truths, existance, definition, identity etc.

7. khɔda: chu
God is
'God exists.'

8. nəsi:b chu panun panun
luck is self self
'One is born with his/her own luck.'

9. poz chu paza:n
   truth is reveal-pr.
   'The truth (eventually) comes out.' or
   'The truth cannot be hidden.'

The copula verb always takes a complement. In the sentence (7) the complement does not appear at the surface and is understood as *poz* 'true,' *mu:ju:d* 'present' *prath ja:yi* 'every where' etc.

The copula is also used as a member in the compound verb sequence a:s 'be' + *khasun/gatshun/sapdun* 'climb/go/become' which renders the meaning of 'to become.'

10. azkal chu siriyi jalɨd khasa:n
    nowadays is sun quick climb-indef
    'The sun rises early in the morning these days.'

11. dɔh khɔtɨ dɔh chu gatsha:n vakhɨt kru:ṭh
    day more day is go-ing time difficult
    'The time is becoming difficult day by day.'

12. azkal cha sapda:n suli: anigaṭɨ
    now-a-days is becoming early dark
    'It becomes dark early (in the evening) these days.'

4.2.1.2 . Declarative Sentences

In declaratives the finite predicate (auxiliary or a verb) occupies the second position. The first position is usually occupied by a subject but it may also be occupied by other con stituents of the sentence best known as topic in a V-2 language.

1. aslaman dits kita:b mohnas ra:mɨni khə:trɨ ra:th
   Aslam-erg gave book Mohan-dat Ram-gen for yesterday
   gari
   home-abl
   'Aslam gave Mohan a book for Ram yesterday at home.'

1a. mohanas dits aslaman kita:b ra:mɨni khə:trɨ ra:th gari
1b. ra:th dits aslaman gari kita:b mohnas ra:mɨni khə:trɨ
1c. gari dits aslaman ra:th mohanas kita:b ra:mɨni khə:trɨ

The constituents following the predicate show a considerable freedom of movement. Declarative sentences can be grouped into three categories on the basis of the classification of verbs: intransitive, tranitive, and dative. The subjects may be realized as agents, experiencers (i.e., dative subjects), themes (i.e., passive subjects) or expletive forms. The subjects of most transitives and a few intransitives are marked ergative in the past tense. The subjects are marked dative in the context of a dative predicate. All other subjects are marked nominative.

2. mohnɨ a:v ra:th
   Mohan came yesterday
   'Mohan came yesterday.'

3. mohnan d'ut nəsi:mas kalam
   Mohan-erg gave Nasim-dat pen
   'Mohan gave a pen to Nasim.

4. me a:kh tsɨ pasand
   I-dat came you-nom like
   'I liked you.'

5. palav a:yi ni mi:nɨni zəriyi chalnɨ
   clothes came-pass neg Meena by wash-in
   'The clothes were not washed by Meena.'

6. kita:b pərɨm
   book read- Is
   'I read a book.'

7. kita:b ditsnas
   book gave-3sg-3s
   'He gave her/him a book.'

Note that a few intransitives such as *asun* 'to laugh,' *vadun* 'to weep,' *laḍun* 'to quarrel' take ergative subjects in the past tense (for details of their forms see Koul 1977:43-44).

8. me/asi/təm'/tami/timav os/vod/loḍ
   I/we/he/she/they-er laughed/wept/quarreled
   'I/we/he/she/they laughed/wept/quarreled.'

9. tse osuth/voduth/loḍuth
   you-erg laughed/wept/quarreled

10. tɔhi osuvɨ/vodɨvɨ/loḍɨvɨ
you-p-er laughed/wept/quarreled

The intransitive verb *natsun* 'to dance' takes ergative as well as nominative subject

11. bɨ notsus
I-nom danced-1

11a. əs' nəts'
we-nom dance

11b. me/asi/təm'/tami nots
I/we/he/she-er danced
'I/we/he/she danced.'

A transitive direct object may also be overt or 'pro' form. In the perfective, the direct object is marked with nominative case. In the nonperfective, the case of the pronominal direct object is decided by person hierarchy.

12. səli:man roṭus bɨ
Salim-erg caught me-ab
'Salim caught me.'

Perfective 'pro' object

13. səliman roṭus
Salim-erg caught-1sg
'Salim caught me.'

Direct object in the nominative.

14. bɨ chusath tsɨ parɨna:va:n
I am you teach-pr
'I am teaching you/him.'

14a. parɨna:va:n chusath

15. bɨ chusan su parɨna:va:n
I am he teach-pr
'I am teaching him.'

15a. parɨna:va:n chusan

16. tsɨ chuhan su parɨna:va:n
you are he teach-pr
'You are teaching him.'

16a. parɨna:va:n chuhan

Direct object in the dative

17. su chu me parɨna:va:n
he is me teach-pr
'He is teaching me.'

17a. parɨna:va:n chum

18. su chu təmis parɨna:va:n
he is him-dat teach-pr
'He is teaching him/her.'

18a. parɨna:va:n chus

The indirect object is always marked dative. The verb inflects for first and third person only if the pronouns are not overtly present. The verb obligatorily inflects for the second person pronoun, which may be optionally deleted.

19. təm' d'ut me /təmis akhba:r
he-erg gave me-dat/him-dat newspaper
'He gave me/him a newspaper.'

19a. akhba:r d'utnam/d'utnas
newspaper gave-3sgps-1sgps/gave-3sgps-3sgp
'He gave me/him a newspaper.'

It is worth mentioning here that weather expressions in Kashmiri fall into two categories. The first type does not have any expletive subject as in (20).

20. ru:d p'av
rain fell
'Rain fell.'

The second type carries the third person singular pronominal suffix on the verb (20a).

20a. ru:d p'o:s
rain fell-3sg
'Rain fell'

Regular weather expression alternative for (21) is (21a).

21. obur khot
clouds rose
'It has clouded over.'

21a. obur khoru-n
clouds rose-3s
'X has raised the clouds.'

Note that the third singular suffix *-n* is also found in some other expressions such as natural processes, natural forces, expressions of health etc. (See Hook and Koul 1987 for details.)

4.2.1.3. Imperative Sentences

The basic imperative is expressed in the unmarked form. There is also a polite form known as precative. Both forms inflect for number. The plural forms are used to express honorific status. The unmarked form is expressed by the verb stem itself.

Veb stem		Addressee	
		Sg.	Pl./Hon.
par	'read'	par	pəriv
an	'bring'	an	əniv
di	'give'	di	diyiv
khe	'eat'	khe	kheyiv

1. ciṭh' par/pəriv
letter read/read-hon
'Read the letter.'

2. šuris di/diyiv miṭhə:y
child-dat give sweets
'Give sweets to the child.'

In the above examples, the imperative is preceded by a topic element. The verb may stand alone if it is flanked by pronominal objects. The presence of the pronominal objects is indicated by the pronominal suffixes.

Subject 2[nd] person	Object(dative) 1[st] person		3[rd] person	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
Singular	-um -		-us	-ukh
Plural	-v'u:m	-	-v'u:s	-hu:kh

4. ha:vum
show-1sgps
'Show me.'

4a. hə:v'u:m
show-1sgps
'Please show me.'

The polite imperative is expressed by the precative suffix *-ti/tav* (sg/pl) as exemplified below.

5. ciṭh' parti
letter read
'Read the letter.'

5a. ciṭh' pər'tav
letter read
'Please read the letter.'

The obligative imperative, which expresses moral obligation, and duties, is formed by means of the suffix - *izi/izev* (sg/pl) as shown below

6. ciṭh' li:khizi/li:khize:
letter write/please writ
'You should write a letter.'

7. poz vən'zi/vən'ze:
truth say
'You should tell the truth.'

The imperative may be negated by means of the particle *mi* . The particle precedes the verb and may be inflected by the precative marker *t* , as exemplified below.

8. po:š mi tsaṭh
flowers not pluck
'Don't pluck the flowers.'

9. tse:r mati karti
delay not do
'Don't be late.'

4.2.1.4. Interrogative Sentences

Two types of interrogative sentences will be discussed: (a) yes–no questions, and (b) question word questions. Yes-no questions fall into

three major categories: (i) neutral, (ii) leading and (iii) alternative questions depending on the answer sought by the interrogator.

Neutral yes-no questions are generally marked by the question marker *a:*, added to the finite predicate at the end of all inflections. An optional question marker *k'a:* may also be added to these constructions. *k'a:* usually occurs in the sentence initial position and throws the verb in the third position.

1. mohnan li:cha: ciṭh'?
   Mohan-erg wrote-Q letter
   'Did Mohan write a letter?

Kashmiri maintains its verb second order in yes-no questions, provided *k'a:* is not counted as the first element. Most V-2 languages do not allow verb second order in such constructions.

2. (k'a:) tsɨ le:khɨkha: az ciṭh'
   you write-fut today letter
   'Will you write the letter today?

The negative marker precedes the question marker.

3. tsɨ yikh na: paga:h daphtar?
   you come-fut neg-Q tomorrow office
   'Won't you come to office tomorrow'?.

The prohibitive imperative marker *mɨ* is placed in the pre-verbal position and is attached with the question marker *a:*.

4. tsɨ mɨ gatsh paga:h ba:zar
   you neg-Q go-fut tomorrow marker
   'Don't go to the market tomorrow.'

4a. tsɨ ma: gatshakh paga:h ba:zar
   you neg-Q go-fut tomorrow marker
   'Are you going to go to the market tomorrow'?

5a. tsɨ ne:rakh nɨ az
   you leave-fut not today
   'You will not leave today.'

5b. (k'a:) tsɨ ne:rakh na: az?
   Q you leave-fut not-Q today
   'Won't you leave today.'?

6a. tsɨ mɨ ne:r az
you not leave-fut today
'Don't leave today.'

6b. (k'a:) tsɨ ma: ne:rakh az?
(Q) you neg-Q leave-fut today
'Aren't you leaving today?'

Leading questions are followed by a negative tag if the expected answer is positive. If the expected answer is negative, the main statement is expressed in the negative form and the tag takes the positive shape.

7. az cha garmi:, cha na:?
today is hot is neg-Q
'It is hot today. isn't it?'

7a. a: , az cha garmi:
yes today is hot
'Yes, it is hot today.'

8. az cha nɨ garmi:, cha:?
today is neg hot is-Q
'It is not hot today, is it?'

8a. na. az cha nɨ (garmi:)
no today is not
'No, it is not (hot).

In alternative questions, a special marker *kinɨ* is placed between the alternative elements, and the verb is suffixed with *-a:*.

9. tsɨ yikha: az kinɨ paga:h?
you come-fut-Q today or tomorrow
'Will you come today or tomorrow?'

10 tsɨ gatshkha: daphtar kinɨ na?
you go-fut-Q office or neg
'Will you go office or not'?

Alternative questions can be used in the finite subordinate clauses whcih result in the placement of the verb at the end of the clause.

11. me chu nɨ pata: (zi/ki) su ceya: dɔd ya: na
I be not know that he drink-fut-Q milk or not
'I don't know whether he will take milk (or not)?'

In question - word questions, the question words such as, *kus, k'a:, k'a:zi* 'who, what, why' are placed immediately before the finite predicate. Question words may be immediately preceded by a subject or other sentence constituents. Note that no constituent can be placed between a question word and the predicate/verb. The question word may be preceded by one constituent only. All the constituents of a sentence may be questioned:

12. mohnan kəmis li:ch ciṭh' ra:th daphtaras manz?
Mohan-erg who-dat wrote letter yesterday office-dat in
'Who did mohan write a letter in the office yesterday?'

12a kəm' li:ch ciṭh' ra:th daphtaras manz?
who-erg wrote letter yesterday office in
'Who wrote a letter yesterday in the office?'

In order to question more than one constituent two types of strategies are employed. In the first type all the question words are moved before the finite predicate.

13. mohnan kəmis k'a: d'ut ba:gas manz?
Mohan-erg who-dat what gave garden-dat in

13a. kəm' kəmis k'a: d'ut ba:gas manz?
who-erg who-dat what gave garden-dat in

In the second type the question words may be left in-situ. However, it is obligatory to move at least one question word before the finite predicate:

14. kəm' kəmis k'a: dits ba:gas manz?
who-erg who-dat what gave garden-dat in
'Who gave what to whom in the garden?'

Multiple reduplicated question words are used in the distributive sense. These follow the single word question word question pattern. The paired elements are always treated aṣ a single unit

15. doyimi vəriyi kus kus yiyi yo:r?
next year-abl who who come-fut here
'Next year who will come here?'

16. mohn-an k'a: k'a: h'ot šuren hindi khə:tri
Mohan-erg what what bought children for
'What are the itims Mohan bought for his children?'

17. dili kɔs kɔs ja:y vuchivɨ tɔhi?
    Delhi-abl which place saw you-erg
    'Which places did you see in Delhi?'

4.2.1.5. Minor sentence types

Apart from the above mentioned four types of simple sentences there are some minor sentence constructions may be of exclamatory, vocative, and interjection types. Exclamtory sentences are marked by strong intonation or are preceded by exclamatory question words as exemplified below.

1. az ko:ta:h ja:n dɔh chu !
   today how good day is
   'What a pleasant day it is!'

2. kə:tṣa:h šəri:ph ku:r !
   how'fs gentle girl
   'What a gentle girl!'

3. va:h k'a: bə:th !
   Oh what song
   'What a song it is!'

Vocative expressions consist of address terms as follows:

4. hayo: nəzi:ra:!
   o-msg Nazir-voc
   'O Nazir!'

5. haye: ku:ri:!
   o-fsh girl-voc
   'O girl!'

6. he: do:sta:/ba:ya:/bə:y sə:ba:/ ṭa:ṭh'a:
   o-msg friend/brother/brother-hon/dearone
   'O friend/brother/dearone!'

Interjections are usually one word emotive utterences, which express surprise, delight etc. The expressions are: *ah, aha:, oh, ša:ba:š, va:h va:h* etc.

4. 2. 2. Complex and Compound Constructions

4. 2.2.1. Complex Sentences

Complex sentences are formed with the help of one or more subordinate clauses which may be either finite or non-finite. The finite and the non-finite subordinate clauses are described below. Some of the complex constructions involving relative and adverbial clauses are also discussed.

Finite subordinate clauses are linked to the main clause by the subordinator *zi/ki* which follows the main verb. The word order in the finite subordinate clause follows the root clause V2 pattern.

1. me chu pata: ki/zi təm' h'ot nov ko:ṭh ba:zrɨ
   I-dat is knowledge that he-erg bought new coat market
   'I know that he bought a new coat in the market.'

1a. me chu pata: ki/zi ba:zrɨ h'ot təm' nov ko:ṭh
   I-dat is knowledge that market-dat bought he new coat
   'I know that he bought a new coat in the market.'

The elements of the subordinate may not be moved to the main clause.

1b. * me chu pata: təm' ki/zi h'ot ba:zrɨ nov ko:ṭh
1c. * me chu pata: təm' ki/zi ba:zrɨ h'ot nov ko:ṭh.

Finite subordinate clauses may be subjects, objects, or complements of predicates.

Nonfinite subordinate clauses as in the infinitive also function as subjects and objects. The infinitive is inflected for gender, number, and case and is placed in the final position. Infinitival object complements omit the subject of the embedded clause, which is the same as the matrix subject.

2. bɨ chus yatsh:m mohnas samkhun
   I am want-pres Mohan-dat meet-in
   'I want to see Mohan.'

The subject is marked possessive just in case the infinitive is nominalized.

3. təm'sund dili gatshun chu mumkin.
   his Delhi go-inf is possible
   'His going to Delhi is possible.'

Question words in the infinitives and nonfinites in general have a scope over the entire sentence and form a direct question. All overt elements of the infinitival clause may be questioned.

4. kəmis gəyi səli:mas kita:b din' məšith?
   who-dat did Salim-dat book give-inf forgot-past ptcpl

4a. səli:mas kəmis gəyi kita:b din' məšith
    Salim-dat who-dat was book give-inf forget-past ptcpl
    'Who did Salim forget to give the book?'

4.2.2.2. Relative Sentences

Relative clauses may be finite or nonfinite. Finite clauses may be correlative or headed type. Relative sentences with finite clauses are marked by the relative pronoun *yus* and the correlative *su* which for gender, number and case and show different forms for animate and inanimate nouns.

1. yɔs ku:r dili cha ro:za:n sɔ cha zə:vij
   rel girl Delhi-abl is live-prp cor is slim
   'The girl who lives in Delhi is slim.'

2. dili (manz) ro:zan va:jen' ku:r cha zə:vij
   Delhi-dat in live-inf girl is very slim
   'The girl who lives in Delhi is very slim.'

In the correlative type, the matrix clause follows the relative clause. The head noun usually follows the relative clause but it may also occupy other positions, as shown below.

3a. yɔs ku:r tse pasand chay sɔ ku:r cha me ti pasand
    rel girl you-dat like is cor girl is me too like

3b. [yɔs ku:r tse pasand chay] me ti cha sɔ ku:r pasand
    rel girl you like is me also is she girl like
    'The girl who you like, I like her too.'

In the headed relative the head noun immediately precedes the relative clause. In both the correlative and the headed clause, pronouns may be followed by a full lexical noun as exemplified below.

4. sɔ ku:r [yɔs tse pasand chay] cha me ti pasand
   cor girl rel you-to like is is me-to also like
   'The girl who you like, I like her too.'

4a. [yɔs ku:r tse pasand chay] sɔ cha me ti pasand
rel girl you-dat like is cor girl is me too like

All the constituents of a sentence can be relativized in both headed and correlative type relative clauses. In the nonfinite relative clause, the verb is marked with the present participle vun or the past participle *MUT*. Both the participles inflect for gender and number. The non-finite form can be used only for subjects.

	Present Participle		Past Participle	
	Masculine	Feminine	Masculine	Feminine
Sg.	-vun	-vɨn'	-mut	-mɨts
Pl.	-vɨn'	-vɨni'	-mɨt'	-mɨtsi

9. vuphɨvun ka:v
fly-prp crow
'The crow which is flying.'

10. pašas peṭh khotmut naphar
roof-dat on climb-psp person
'The person who climbed the roof.'

An agentive suffix vo:l is used to form nouns of agency. The suffix varies with gender and number as follows:

Masculine		Feminine	
Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
vo:l	və:l'	va:jen	va:jini

11. [jemi ro:zan vo:l] ləḍkɨ chu m'o:n do:s
Jammu-abl live-ptcp-msg boy is my friend
'The boy who lives in jammu is my friend.'

4.2.2.3. Adverbial Clauses

Adverbial clauses may be finite or non-finite. Finite adverbial clauses may be placed before or after the main clause. The adverbial clause places the verb in the final position. The main clause maintains the verb second order. Finite adverbial clauses of time are marked with relative clause time markers.

yeli	teli	'when...then'
yeli yeli	teli teli	'whenever'
yanɨ peṭhɨ	tanɨ peṭhɨ	'since'

ya:n'	ta:n'	'as soon as'
yuthuy	tithuy	as soon as...that very time'
yota:m	tota:m	'as long as'
yami sa:tɨ	tami sa:tɨ	'the moment'

1. yeli bɨ chus gatsha:n teli chu su ti gatsha:n
   when I am go-pr then is he too go-pr
   'When I go, (then) he goes too.'

2. yenɨ su yo:r a:v tanɨ chi əs' yikɨvaṭɨ kə:m kara:n
   since he here came from are we together work doing
   'Since he came here, (from that period)we work together.'

It is important to note that the time markers *yeli* or *yanɨ* do not undergo deletion though the coorelative markers *teli, tanɨ* may do so optionally. The participial constructions also act as time adverbials.

3. su a:v do:ra:n
   he came run-pr
   'He came running.'

4. təm' prutsh kursii peṭh bihith
   he-er asked chair-obl on sit-cp
   'He asked sitting on the chair.'

5. garɨ və:tith kor tami ṭeli:pho:n
   home reach-cp did she-erg telephone
   'She telephoned after reaching home.

A present participle expresses ongiong action or process. It takes progressive aspect in the subordinate clause.

6a. su a:v tami sa:tɨ yemi sa:tɨ su do:ra:n o:s
    he came at that time when he run-pr was
    'He came at that time when he was running.'

6b. su a:v do:ra:n do:ra:n
    'He came (while) running.

A verbal noun followed by *brõh* 'before,' *patɨ* 'after,' *peṭh* 'on' results in the reading of a time adverbial.

7. təm'sɨndi yinɨ brõh yiyi nɨ kã:h
   he-gen-obl come-inf-obl before come-fu-neg none
   'No one will come before he comes.'

8. təm'sindi ne:rnɨ patɨ gatshɨ bɨ
he-gen-obl departure after go-fut I
'I'll go after his depature.'

Manner adverbial clauses usually employ relative like participial constructions. The finite manner markers are *yithɨ kɨn' yithɨpə:ṭh* 'as/ which way.'

9. yithɨkin' bɨ vanay tithɨkin' kar
as-rel I tell-you the same way-rel do
'Do as I tell you.'

The word order of the relative manner clause and correlative manner clause can be altered.

9a. tithɨkin' kar yithɨkin' bɨ vanay

The participial constructions express a manner reading.

10. su a:v vada:n vada:n
he came weep-ple weep-pl
'He came (while) crying.'

11. təm' vod kursii peṭh bihith
he-er wept chair-obl on sit-past ptcpl
'He cried sitting on the cot.'

The negativized participial form is formed by adding *nɨ + varə:y.*

12. təm' von asnɨ varə:y
he-erg said laugh-pm without
'He said without smiling.'

The sentences of infinitival/gerundive construction also express the manner reading

13. təm'sund natsun chu me pasand
(s)he-gen dance-inf is I-dat like
'I like his/her dance.'

Purpose clauses may be expressed in two ways: (a) infinitival form followed by the ablative marker *-i* or the oblique form plus the postposition *khə:trɨ/ba:path* 'for' and (b) the particle *tik'a:zi* 'because' and amikin 'therefore.' Consider the following examples:

14a. su gav na:ṭakh vuchini
he went play see-inf-abl for
'He went to see a play.'

14b. su gav na:ṭakh vuchnɨ khə:trɨ/ba:path
he went film see-inf-obl for
'He went to see a play.'

Notice that in (14a) the ablative marker *i* is added to the infinitive form of the verb which expresses the meaning of 'for.' In (14b) the ablative marker *-i* is added fefore the postposition *khə:trɨ/ba:path* 'for.' In the above construction, there is an option between the two. In case the verb is not a motion verb the use of ablative marker and the use of postposition is obligatory.

15. me von təmis kita:b parnɨ khə:trɨ/ba:path
I-erg said him book read-inf-abl for
'I told him to read the book.'

15a. *me von tsəmis kita:b parnɨ

The coreferential phrases *tik'a:zi* 'because' and *amikin'* 'therefore' can also be used.

16. tik'a:zi az o:s garɨm amikin' go:s nɨ bɨ ba:zar
because today was hot therefore went not I market
'Because it was hot, therefore, I couldn't go to market.'

Cause is expressed by means of finite clauses marked by *tik'a:zi* 'because.' The cause and effect clauses can be used in interchangable order.

17. su heki nɨ pərith tik'a:zi su chu muḍɨ
he able not read-cp because he is illiterate
'He cannot read, because he is illiterate.'

17a. tik'a:zi su chu muḍɨ su heki nɨ pərith
'Because he is illiterate, he cannot read.'

The cause can be expressed by reduplicated present, past and conjunctive participles

18. paka:n paka:n thok su tɨ b'u:ṭh pathar
walk-ple walk-ple tired he and sat down
'Walking (constantly) he was tired and sat down.'

19. bɨ a:s prə:r' prə:r' tang
    I came wait-cp wait-cp sick
    'I got sick of waiting.'

20. dava: khethɨy gav su ṭhi:kh
    medicine eat-cp-emp went he alright
    'Immediately on taking medicine, he recovered..'

Cause can be expressed by means of an infinitive followed by the postposition *sɨ:t'* 'with'

21. šur' sɨndi yinɨ sɨ:t' gəyi sə:ri: khɔš
    child-obl gen come-inf-obl with went all happy
    'Because of the arrival of the child, all were happy.'

Condition clauses are marked by the conjunction agar 'if.'

22. agar ru:d peyi, teli bani ja:n phasɨl
    if rain fall-fu then get good crop
    'If it rains, then the crops will be good.'

The sequence of 'if - then' clause can be reversed as given below.

22a. teli bani ja:n phasal agar ru:d peyi
    'The crop will be good, if it rains.'

The conjunction marker *natɨ* 'otherwise' also is used in the condition clauses.

23. paga:h yizi jalɨd natɨ gatshɨ bɨ kunuy zon
    tomorrow come-mod-imp soon otherwise go-fu I alone
    'Come early tomorrow, otherwise I will go alone.'

A concession clause is marked by subordinate conjunction markers such as *agarci/yodvay* 'although,' *harga:h ... to:ti* 'even if,' *k'a:zi...nɨ*, 'why, not'.

24. agarci/harga:h sɔ seṭha: əmi:r cha, to:ti cha kanju:s
    although she very rich is still is miser
    'Although she is very rich, she is a miser.'

25. su k'a:zi kari nɨ me za:rɨpa:rɨ, bɨ gatshɨ nɨ to:r
    he why do not me beg I go-fu not there
    'Even if he begs me, I'll not go there.'

The result clause is marked by an oblique infinitive followed by the postposition *ki vaja:h*. In a sentence sequence, the cause is usually given in the first sentence which is followed by another giving the result of it. The second sentence is marked by a phrase *amikin'* 'therefore'.

26. ru:d penɨ ki vaja:h h'o:kus nɨ bɨ ba:zar gətshith
rain fall-inf-obl reason able-1s not I market go-cp
'I could not go to market because of the rain.'

27. ra:th o:s ja:n mu:sim, ami kin' go:s bɨ cakras
yesterday was good weather therefore went I walk-dat
'It was fine weather yesterday, therefore, I went for a alk.'

4.2.2.4. Coordination

Sentence coordination is marked mainly by the morphemes *tɨ* 'and,' and *magar* 'but'

1. bɨ go:s dili tɨ m'o:n do:s gav jom
I went Delhi and my friend went Jammu
'I went to Delhi and my friend went to Jammu.'

2. sohnɨ gav tuhund garɨ magar toh' ə:sivɨ nɨ gari
Sohan went your home but you were not home-ab
'Sohan went to your home but you were not at home.'

The conjunction marker *tɨ* 'and' can optionally be followed by another morpheme *ti* 'also.'

3. su gatshi paga:h dili tɨ bɨ ti gatshɨ
he go-fu tomorrow Delhi and I also go-fut
'He will go to Delhi tomorrow and I will also go.'

The alternative conjunction morphemes *ya:...ya:* 'either ... or' are used, as in the example below.

4. ya: peyi az ru:d ya: peyi az ši:n
or fall-fu today rain or fall-fu today snow
'Either it rains today or it will snow.'

Note that the word order of the constituent sentences undergo a change. The verb is placed immediately after the coordinators. Compare sentence (4) with the source sentences (4a) and (4b).

4a. az peyi ru:d
'It will rain today.'

4b. az peyi ši:n
'It will snow today.'

4.2.2.4.1. tɨ 'and' coordination

'And' coordination is used to conjoin two or more sentences or phrases. The conjunction morpheme occurs before the last conjunct.

1. aslam chu kita:b para:n tɨ nazi:r chu ciṭh' le:kha:n
Aslam is book reading and Nazir is letter writin
'Aslam is reading a book and Nazir is writing a letter.'

2. ra:jɨ cha g'ava:n, uma: cha natsa:n tɨ uša: cha asa:n
Raja is singing Uma is dancing and asa:n is laughing
'Raja is singing, Uma is dancing, and Usha is laughing.'

1a. * tɨ aslam cha kita:b para:n nazi:r chu ciṭh' le:kha:n

2a. * ra:jɨ cha g'ava:n tɨ uma: cha natsa:n uša: cha asa:n

The misplacement of coordination conjunction morpheme *tɨ* renders the sentences (1a) and (2a) ungrammatical. Coordination does not merely involve juxtaposition of two or more independent sentences. There are various syntactic and semantic constraints on the construction of coordinate structures. In general, coodinate sentences express contrast, cumulative effect, cause and effect, sequential action etc. The order of the conjuncts is interchangeable if a coordinate sentence expresses contrast or cummulative effect. Consider the following examples of various types of coordinate structures:

3. yi ləḍkɨ chu da:na: tɨ hu ləḍkɨ chu be:kɨl
this boy is intelligent and that boy is stupid
'This boy is intelligent and that boy is stupid.'

3a. hu ləḍkɨ chu be:kɨl tɨ yi ləḍkɨ chu da:na:
'That boy is stupid and this boy is intelligent.'

4. su chu varziš kara:n tɨ sə:ras gatsha:n

he is exercise do-pr and walk-dat go-pr
'He exercises and goes for walk.'

4a. su chu sə:ras gatsha:n tɨ varziš kara:n

5. tsu:ras ləj gu:l' tɨ su gave zakhmi:
thief struck bullet and he was injured
'The thief was hit by a bullet and he was injured.'

5a *tsu:r gav zakhmi: tɨ təmis ləj gu:l'
'The thief was injured and he was hit by a bullet.'

6. toh' vuchiv ja:n ku:r tɨ kəriv ne:thɨr
you-p see-fu good girl and do marriage
'You find a good girl and get married.'

6a. *toh' kəriv ne:thɨr tɨ vuchiv ja:n ku:r
'You get married and find a good girl.'

Notice that the sentences (3), and (4) permit the reverse order, but the sentences (5), (6) do not permit it. The coordinate sentences (5) and (6) can be paraphrased to indicate that they are related with subordination process as well.

5b. tsu:r gav gu:l' lagnɨ sɨ:t' zakhmi:
thief was bullet hit-inf-abl with injured
'The thief was injured by a bullet.'

6b. ja:n ku:r vuchith kəriv toh' ne:thɨr
good girl find-cp do you marriage
'Please find a good girl and get married.'

In the above sentences the cause and effect, sequential action and contingency is expressed without using the conjunction morphemes. The paraphrases indicate that the first conjuncts of sentences represent adverbial complements of the second conjuncts. The conjunction morpheme *tɨ* sometimes fulfills the function of a disjunction as well. The sentence (3) can be paraphrased by using the conjunction morpheme *magar* 'but' as in (3b) below

3b. yi lədkɨ chu ga:ṭul magar hu lədkɨ chu be:kɨl
'This boy is intelligent but that boy is stupid.'

Besides conjoining sentences, the coordinating conjunction marker *tɨ* can be used to coordinate nouns (subjects, direct and indirect objects), verbs, adjectives, and adverbs The coordination of two noun phrases yields a plural noun phrase and therefore the verb agreement is affected. In case of coordinate subjects, the verb takes a masculine plural concord, whereas in the case of coordinate objects, the verb agrees with the nearest object.

7. me het' tsũ:ṭh' tɨ tse:rɨ
I-er bought-mp apples-m and apricots-
'I bought apples and apricots.'

7a. me hetsi tse:rɨ tɨ tsũ:h'
I-er bought-fp apricots and apples
'I bought apricots and apples'

4.2.2.4.2. *magar* 'but' coordination

The coordinator *magar* is placed in the beginning of the second conjunct

8. ra:jɨ cha muḍɨ magar sɔ cha seṭha: da:na:
Raja is illiterate, but she is very wise .
'Raja is illiterate, but she is very wise.'

magar 'but' coordination is usually used with adjectives and adverbials.

9. ši:lɨ cha muḍɨ magar ga:ṭij ku:r
Shiela is illiterate but wise girl
'Shiela is an illiterate but a wise girl.'

10. tami kər kath magar va:rɨ va:rɨ
she did talk but slowly
'She talked but in low voice.'

'But' coordination of nouns and verbs may involve a negative particle preceding or following the adversative conjuncts.

11. ra:mɨ chu ja:n šur magar sohnɨ chunɨ (ja:n)
Ram is good boy but Sohan is not (good)
'Ram is a good boy but Sohan is not.'

12. aslam nay yiyi magar bɨ yimɨ zaru:r
Aslam neg-em come-fu but I come-fu definitely
'Aslam may not come, but I'll come definitely.'

4.2.2.4.3. *ya:* 'or' Coordination

The disjunctive marker *ya:* 'or' can precede the first as well as subsequent disjuncts.

13. ya: gatshi su dili, ya: gatshi su a:gra:
either go-fu he Delhi or go-fu he Agra
'Either he will go to Delhi or to Agra.'

The disjunctive markers *ya:* 'or' *kinɨ* 'or' are used to conjoin nouns, adjectives, adverbs and verbs.

14. majid ya: aslam gatshan jom
Majid or Aslam go-fu Jammu
'Majid or Aslam will go to Jammu.'

The disjunctive marker *ya:* 'or' can precede any disjoined element or category but not *kinɨ*

15. ya: gatshi ši:lɨ ya: ra:mɨ po:š tsaṭɨni
either go-fu Shiela or Ram flower pluck-inf-abl
'Either Shiela or Ram will go to pluck flowers.'

15a. *kinɨ gur te:z paka:n kinɨ va:rɨ va:rɨ

Negative disjunction is expressed by substituting a negative particle *na* for *ya:*

16. na kheyi su pa:nɨ na diyi me khenɨ
neither eat-fu he himself nor give-fu me eat-inf-abl
'Neither he will eat himself nor will he let me eat.'

There are various structural constraints in coordination. In general, the members falling in the same class can be conjoined and not those belonging to different classes.

17. *sɔ cha khu:bsu:rath tɨ ku:r
she is beautiful and girl

17a. sɔ cha khu:bsu:rath tɨ ga:ṭij ku:r
she is beautiful and intelligent girl
'She is a beautiful and an intelligent girl.'

4. 3. Other Syntactic Constructions

4.3.1. Passivisation

There are two categories of passive constructions: (i) personal passive, and (ii) capabilitive passive. The personal passive is marked by the auxiliary *yun* and the ablative form of the infinitive of the main verb. The passive subject of the simple transitive is marked nominative. Certain exceptional verbs such as *la:yun* 'to beat' *pra:run* 'to wait' that inherently mark their objects in the dative in the active version, retain the dative case on the passive subjects. The passive nominative subject, but not the dative one, agrees with *yun*. The former subject is marked genitive followed by the ablative suffix and the postposition *zəriyi/dəs'* 'by.' The postpositional phrase is often deleted.

1. su chu/o:s/a:si səli:mas parɨna:va:n
   he is/was/will be Salim-dat teachin
   'He is/was/will be teaching Salim.'

1a. səli:m chu yiva:n parɨna:vnɨ
   Salim is come-pass teach
   'Salim is being taught.'

2. mohnan lo:y səli:mas lo:ri sɨ:t'
   Mohan-erg beat Salim-dat stick-abl wit
   'Mohan beat Salim with a stick.

2a. səli:mas a:v la:ynɨ lo:ri sɨ:t' səli:mni zəriyi
   Salim-dat come-pass beat stick-abl with
   'Salim was beaten by Mohan with a stick..'

In the double transitive construction, the indirect object retains its dative case and the nominative NP (i.e., the former direct object) controls the agreement.

3. mohnan li:ch ra:da:yi ciṭh'
   Mohan-erg wrote Radha-dat letter
   'Mohan wrote a letter to Radha.'

3a. ra:da:yi a:yi ciṭh' le:khnɨ
   Radha-dat pass letter write
   'A letter was written to Radha.' Or
   'Radha was written a letter.'

The capability passive, impersonal in nature, usually requires a negative or an interrogative context. The capability passive usually retains the postpositional agent. The agent is absent in certain constructions as noted below.

4. təm' hec nɨ kath kərith
   he-erg could neg talk do-ptc
   'He could not talk..'

5. su h'ok nɨ pəkith
   he could neg walk-ptc
   'He was not able to walk.'

4.3.2. Negation

Declarative sentences are negated by means of the particle *nɨ*, which is added to the finite verb after the agreemental and pronominal suffixes.

1. bɨ chus nɨ akhba:r para:n
   I am neg newspaper read-ptc
   'I don't read the news paper.'

Constituents are also negated by adding negative markers such as, *nay, ros, baga:r, varə:y* all meaning 'without.' The suffix *-nay* follows the verb stem, while others require the ablative infinitive form of the verb. Alternatively, they may be added directly to the nominal.

2. mohnɨ gav soku:l kita:bav ros/bagə:r/varə:y
   Mohan went school books-abl without
   'Mohan went to school without his books.'

The indefinite quantifiers such as *kã:h, kẽh, kun zã:h* 'someone, something, ever' are negated by the normal sentential negation. The indefinite quantifiers in this context are usually marked by empathic particles.

3. təmis si:th' kari nɨ kã:h kath
   he-dat with do-fut neg someone talk
   'No one will talk to him.'

4. su kari nɨ do:stan hɨndi khə:trɨ kẽh
   he do-fut neg friends-dat gen for something
   'He will do nothing for his friends.'

5. təm' chanɨ zã:h zindgi: manz ciṭh' li:chmɨts
   he-erg hasn't ever life-dat in letter write-ptc
   'He has never written a letter in his life.'

6. ši:lɨ gəyi nɨ kun ra:th
   Shiela went neg anywhere yesterday
   'Shiela went nowhere yesterday.'

4. 3. 3. Pronominalization

Pronominailzation includes reflexive, reciprocal, pronominal and deletion strategies.

4.3.3.1. Reflexivization

The main reflexive pronoun is *pa:n*, when followed by a postposition, this takes the oblique form *pə:n'*. The emphatic pronoun is *pa:nɨ*. The emphatic suffix *-ay* may be added to it for extra emphasis. The rusult is *pa:nay*. The reduplicated form *pə:n' pa:nɨ* also occurs as an emphatic reflexive. The possessive reflexive form is *panun*. The reflexive *pa:n* is usually anteceded by a subject. The reflexive itself may be a direct, indirect object or a postpositional phrase.

1. mohnan vuch panun pa:n ə:nas manz
   Mohan-erg saw self's body mirror-dat in
   'Mohan saw himself in the mirror.'

2 mohnan von aslamas pa:nas mutalakh
   Mohan-erg told Aslam-dat self-dat about
   'Mohan told Aslam about himself.'

3. vəki:las chu pa:nas peṭh baro:sɨ
   advocate has refle-dat on confidence
   'The advocate has confidence in himself.'

4. pa:nas kor aslaman a:ra:m
   refl-dat did Aslam-er res
   'Aslam rested himself.'

The reflexivization may also be controlled by dative subjects.

5. aslamas chu panun pa:n pasand
   Aslam-dat has self like
   'Aslam likes himself.'

The scope of reflexivity is usually restricted to the clause in which it is used.

6. mohnan von zi su/* pa:nɨ va:ti vakhtas peṭh
   Mohan said that he/*refl reach-fu time-dat at
   'Mohan(i) said that he(i) wiould reach in time.'

7. mohnan prutsh ki təm'sɨnz/*panɨn' zana:n kar yiyi
   Mohan-er asked that his *refl wife when come-f
   'Mohan (i) asked when his(i) wife would come.'

The sentences (6) and (7) show that reflexivization does not go down into subordinate clauses. Notice that reflexivization is possible within a nonfinite and a small clause.

8. aslaman von səli:mas pa:nas kitsh ca:y anini khə:tri
Aslam-erg told Salim-dat self-dat for tea bring-abl for
'Aslam told Salim to bring tea for himself.'

9. aslam chu [mohnas panun dušman] ma:na:n
Aslam is Mohan-dat refl enemy considering
'Aslam(i) considers Mohan(j) his(i,j) enemy.

Sentence (8) is ambiguous because the reflexive pronoun is co referential with the subject of the main as well as with the subject of the subordinate clause. In possessive structures, the reflexive form *panun* 'self' is used in place of possessive pronouns. It agrees with the following head NP in number and gender. Following are its forms in nominative case:

Masculine		Feminine	
Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
panun	panin'	panin'	panini

10. bi chus panun/*m'o:n kamri sa:ph kara:n
I-m am refl/*my room clean do-p
'I am cleaning my room.'

4.3.3.2. Reciprocals

The primary way of expressing the reciprocal relationship is by means of an expression *akh əkis* 'to one another,' which is a combination of cardinal akh 'one' and its dative case form (*akh +is => əkis*). There is no nominative form of the reciprocal and the dative form is used in its place.

The reciprocal forms can occur only within a clause, which may be simple or nonfinite.

1. timav kor akh əkis seṭha: madath
they-er did one another-dat very help
'They helped each other very much.'

Reciprocals may be used as a direct object, indirect object, postpositional or possessive phrases.

2. tim samikh' akh əkis va:riya:hi kə:l'
they-er met one another-dat lot-abl period of time
'They met each other after a lot of time.'

3. timav dit' akh əkis co:b
   they-er gave one another beating
   'They thrashed each other.'

4. tim chi akh əkis peṭh takhsi:r kha:ra:n
   they are one another-dat on blame placing
   'They accuse/blame each other.'

5. əs' chi nɨ akh ək'sund garɨ gatsha:n
   we are not one another-poss home go-pr
   'We don't visit each other's house.'

Mutual reciprocity is expressed by the use of *pa:nɨvə:n'* mutual:

6. tim chi nɨ pa:nɨvə:n' kath kara:n
   they are not each other talk do-pr
   'They donot talk to each other.'

Personal pronouns may not have their antecedents within the same clause. They occur in all sorts of structures. For example, they occur across finite subordinate clauses, adverbial clauses, coordinate structures, discourse structures, etc.

In adverbial clauses the pronoun may be optionally deleted.

7. [yeli /su(i) ba:zar gav] sohnan(i) h'əts pa:nas kitsh ṭu:p'
   rel /he market went Sohan bought-fsg refl-dat for cap
   'When he (i) went to the market, Sohan (i) bought a cap for himself.'

7a. [yeli sohan ba:zar gav] ø pa:nas kitsh hetsin ṭu:p'
   'When Sohan went to market, (he) bought a cap for himself.'

7b. [yeli sohanɨ ba:zar gav] təm' hets pa:nas kitsh ṭu:p'
   'When Sohan went to market, he bought a cap for himself.'

In a narrative text or natural discourse, deletion is used very frequently to refer to a previous coreferent.

The Kashmiri Language and Society

1. Introduction

Language and society are closely related. The relationship can be studied in two ways: (i) use of language in society and (ii) sociology of language. Keeping in view the main theme of the volume, it would be relevant and of interest to study the relationship between the Kashmiri language and society from the point of view of the use of language in Kashmiri society. However, certain remarks will be made with respect to the sociology of language. Without going into theoretical aspects of sociolinguistics, we will confine our description and analysis to certain linguistic characteristics of Kashmiri, issues related to its development with special reference to its use in different domains, its standardisation and modernisation. Language is a strong mark of social and ethnic identity in its natural environment. Language identity faces challenges in a situation where the speakers of a particular language group move out of its natural environment to a distant land as a result of socio-economic and political factors. We will point out certain social parameters of the language with special reference to language identity, language loss and language maintenance of Kashmiri by emigrant or displaced children.

Language reflects the society as clearly as the society is reflected in it. To illustrate this point, it would be necessary to make special references to the linguistic characteristics of personal names, surnames and nicknames of Kashmiri. They reflect the socio-cultural, religious, and linguistic patterns of the society. Most of the personal names in Kashmiri represent two main religious streams. Besides some genuine surnames, a large number of surnames and nicknames have developed by the local influences and common socio-cultural patterns characterising Kashmiri society. Well-defined religious boundaries do not seem to have a role in them. Kashmiris are very productive in the coinage of names and nicknames and, perhaps, it is the strong texture with which the concept of *Kashmiriat* is woven. Similarly, in a day-to-day communicative situation, the use of kinship terms, modes of address and modes of greetings represent socio-cultural milieu of Kashmiri society. They are illustrated with special reference to their use. They have an important place in the use of language in society and sociology of language.

2. Language Development

The concept of Language Development or the Development of a Language is usually discussed with reference to the languages of the developing or third world countries. However, the language development may not necessarily be related to the economic development of a country. The models of the development may also vary and need not be universal. The process of development of a language has attracted the attention of different linguists and language planners lately. There is a broad consensus that the process of the development of a language must take care of three main aspects of the language: Graphisation or script, standardization, and modernization. Language planners have discussed the models of the language development with reference to different languages. These three major aspects form the part of the discussion about development with reference to all languages. Though the process of the development of Kashmiri continues at a slow pace, there has been no serious attempt to discuss the issues involved. Here, we will review the efforts made in the area of language development of Kashmiri; and discuss some of the main issues involved in this area.

Language development primarily involves two aspects related to language planning: Corpus planning and Status planning. It is important to keep in view the existing situation of the Kashmiri language, its spatial dimensions, and its use in different domains. The issues involved in the language development cannot be studied in isolation of these facts. We will briefly present an overview of the Kashmiri language and discuss the issues related to its development.

Language Development is directly related to the use of the language in different domains. Though all the languages develop as a natural process, it is only the human interruption, which makes the languages develop in a planned manner. In order to channelise the development process, one has to keep in mind its different uses. The primary uses of a language are in the areas of education, mass media, and administration.

2.1. Use of Kashmiri in Administration

Kashmiri, though spoken by the dominant majority of people in the valley, has never been used as an official language in its home state i.e., Jammu and Kashmir. Persian was introduced as the official language during the Muslim rule beginning the 14th Century, which was later replaced by Urdu, another non-native language, in 1907, which continues as the official language even after independence.

Kashmiri was listed as one of the major Indian languages in the VIII Schedule of the Constitution of India. Keeping in view the multilingual character of the country, all the states had the freedom to use any of the major regional languages as the official languages in administration. As expected, most of the states chose languages of their respective regions as the official languages and made provision for their effective use in administration. The state of Jammu and Kashmir decided to continue the use of Urdu as the official language in the state.

Keeping in view the multilingual character of the State, the Constitution of the Jammu and Kashmir state recognizes seven languages spoken in the State: Kashmiri, Dogri, Ladakhi, Hindi, Urdu, Punjabi and Gojri. It is the duty of the state to develop all these languages. The major native languages are Kashmiri, Dogri and Ladakhi. In the three regions of the state, Kashmiri is spoken in the valley of Kashmir, Dogri in the Jammu region, and Ladakhi in the Ladakh region. Kashmiri, though spoken by the majority of population in the state, is not even made an associate official language.

With a higher rate of illiteracy in the State, it is appropriate to use Kashmiri in administration in the valley where it is spoken natively. Kashmiri is not used in administration even at lower levels. All the official communications are recorded in Urdu, a non-native language. The government officials have to communicate with the people at the grassroots level as effectively as possible. This cannot be done through an alien language. Therefore, there has been a strong movement in favour of the use of Kashmiri in administration in the valley at all the lower levels (Koul and Schmidt 1983).

2.2. Use of Kashmiri in Education

Kashmiri has a limited role in education in the state of the Jammu and Kashmir. Immediately after the independence of the country, it was introduced as a subject of study in primary schools in the Kashmir valley; but its teaching was discontinued in 1955 under the excuse of reducing the 'language load' of children in schools. Urdu continued to be used in its dominant role in education. It continues to be a compulsory subject of study in schools and also is the medium of instruction at the school level. Hindi was allowed to be used in these roles as an alternative in the Jammu region.

As a result of the language movement in favour of Kashmiri and efforts made by the educationists at the highest level, a department of Kashmiri was set up at the University of Kashmir. Kashmiri was introduced as a subject of study at the post-graduate level in the University of Kashmir

in the early seventies. To begin with it offered a post-graduate diploma course in Kashmiri and later switched over to regular Masters, M.Phil and Ph.D courses. There has been an encouraging enrollment in these courses.

Recent years have witnessed a language movement in favour of the use of Kashmiri in education in the valley. Intellectuals, literary organisations and educationists have been raising their voice in favour of the use of Kashmiri in education. As a result of this, Kashmiri was introduced as a subject of study in some colleges in the valley and as an optional subject in the secondary schools. Kashmiri is yet to be made a compulsory school subject in schools in the valley, though there is a great demand for it. According to a sociolinguistic survey of Kashmiri (Koul and Schmidt 1983), most of the people favour the use of Kashmiri as a medium of instruction in elementary schools; and also for the teaching of Kashmiri as a school subject right from the primary to the University level. As far as its use in education is concerned, the following areas need immediate attention:

(i) Kashmiri is to be provided a place in the school curriculum as a compulsory school subject in the valley where the majority speaks it natively. This would require the preparation of basictextbooks in this language.

ii) Kashmiri is to be used as the medium of instruction up to the primary level in the valley. This would involve the preparation of textbooks of all the subjects thorough this medium.

2.3. Use of Kashmiri in Mass Media

Kashmiri has a limited role in mass media. The setting up of Radio Kashmir in the state after independence has played a prominent role in the use of Kashmiri in radio broadcasts. Kashmiri was used as a medium of news and feature broadcasts on the Radio. It encouraged the creative writers and scholars in Kashmiri to write in Kashmiri. It resulted in the development of prose genre and boosted the literary activities in the language. The Srinagar Doordarshan has enhanced the role of Kashmiri in the electronic media. The survey of the use of Kashmiri in the electronic media has shown the popularity of the programmes. There is a demand for increase in the timings for the broadcast and telecast of programmes in Kashmiri on Radio and television.

There is limited use of Kashmiri in the print mass media. No daily newspaper is published in the language. Some weekly newspapers keep on appearing periodically and disappearing after a short while. The government of the state has not made an effort to provide support to these publications. The government of India does bring out a fortnightly periodical entitled *Pragash*. It has a limited circulation. Some other periodical journals like *Shiraza* (published by the J & K Academy of Art, Culture of Languages), *Anhar* (published by the University of Kashmir) and *Bavath* are published more or less regularly. Similarly, there are Kashmiri sections in the college magazines published occasionally. The publications of some other journals like *Kong Posh* have not survived for long. Outside the valley of Kashmir, *Koshur Samachar* - a socio-cultural journal of Kashmiri Sahayak Samiti, Delhi, *Aalav*, Bangalore and *Kshir Bhavani* - a journal of Kashmiri Pandit Association Jammu, do have Kashmiri sections. They publish articles and literary pieces in Kashmiri in the Devanagari script. There has been no policy regarding the development of journalistic writings in the Kashmiri language. The technical vocabulary used in the journalistic broadcasts/telecasts and writings are primarily based on the Urdu phrases and vocabulary.

Thus, the use of Kashmiri in mass media has not attracted favorable attention so for. It has a limited use in the electronic media including Radio, TV, films etc. The use of Kashmiri in the electronic media has to improve both, in quality as well as quantity. Kashmiri has a very limited use in the print media. The language cannot develop fully unless it is widely used in different kinds of mass media. The state has to decide about the policy regarding its use in the mass media.

In the absence of a clear policy of the government of the state, the problems of the development of Kashmiri, with special reference to its use in education, mass media and administration will continue. No language can be developed in isolation of its use in different domains. These challenges are to be addressed by the language planners.

3. Standardization

There is a scope for standardisation of the Kashmiri language at different levels. The problem of the standardisation of the script is a prominent one. No serious efforts have been made in this direction so far. Several scripts are being used for writing Kashmiri. The major ones are: Sharada, Devanagari, Roman and Perso-Arabic. The question of the standardisation of the script is directly related to the question of its being able to represent all the speech sounds and other phonetic characteristics of the language. The Kashmiri language has certain speech sounds, which are not found

in other Indo-Aryan or other neighboring languages. For example Kashmiri has two short and two long central high and mid vowels: /ɨ/, /ɨ:/, /ə/ and /ə:/, and dental affricates: /ts/ and /tsh/ which are not found in other neighboring languages. Similarly, palatalisation is an important feature of Kashmiri. These peculiar sounds and phonetic characteristics need to be represented in the script to be used in Kashmiri.

The original script of Kashmiri is Sharada. Old manuscripts are available in this script. This script has become obsolete now, and has a restricted use. It is used in writing of horoscopes by Kashmiri Pandits. This script does not represent the signs for all the sounds and other phonetic characteristics of Kashmiri. No special diacritic signs are being used to represent the peculiar sounds of Kashmiri.

The use of Roman for Kashmiri started with the European scholars who transliterated certain texts from Kashmiri into this script. It is widely used in citing the original literary pieces in the works related to literature; and also in the language data in the linguistic works related to the language written in English. No standardisation in the use of the Roman script for Kashmiri has taken place so far. Different scholars have used different diacritic signs for representing the sound system of the Kashmiri language. The Roman script continues to be used in citing data from Kashmiri in the books written in English related to Kashmiri language and literature. In linguistic studies, there is a convention of using Roman phonetic script. Different scholars are using different types of conventions not similar to those suggested in the IPA (International Phonetic Alphabet) to facilitate easy printing. Though the pace of the linguistic works in Kashmiri is quite slow, there is a need for standardising the Roman phonetic symbols for representing the speech sounds and other phonetic characteristics of the language.

The Devanagri script is mostly used in the research works related to the Kashmiri language carried out in Hindi for the citation of the data from Kashmiri. It is also used in certain Hindu religious texts, and in a few periodicals like Koshur Samachar, Aalav etc. The Devanagri script requires modifications for writing Kashmiri texts. Different types of additional diacritics are used to represent the peculiar speech sounds of Kashmiri. The diacritics suggested by the Central Hindi Directorate in their Parivardit Devanagri have undergone various changes. The signs are not uniformly used in the printing of the Kashmiri text. Efforts are on to reach a consensus on it. Under a proposal of Government of India, the Northern Regional Language Centre conducted a workshop for the standardisation of the Devanagri script for Kashmiri. Based on the

recommendation of the workshop, Penfosys, Pune have prepared a software which is now to be used in the publications using the Devanagri script.

The official script of the Kashmiri language recognised by the Jammu & Kashmir Academy of Art, Culture and Languages is based on the Perso-Arabic script using additional diacritic marks for representing certain peculiar characteristics of the Kashmiri language. The additional diacritic marks have been suggested for writing Kashmiri vowels and consonants and for representing the phonetic characteristics of palatalization of the language. This script is widely used in the publications of the Academy and other private and governmental publications. There are still inconsistencies found in the use of these signs. The recommendations made earlier are not followed strictly. Koul (1996) has suggested certain measures for the standardization of the use of the Perso-Arabic script for Kashmiri. The conventions of the script need to be reviewed for bringing in the uniformity so that the script represents the characteristics of the language.

3.1. Standard variety

As pointed out above, there are certain dialectical (both geographical and social) variations in the Kashmiri language. Kashmiri spoken in and around Srinagar has somehow attained the status of the standard variety. The speakers of other regions tend to switch over to this variety in their use in formal situations and interpersonal communication with the speakers of the standard variety. The variations are mostly reflected in the spoken variety. They are almost non-existent in the written domain of the language. The mass media and the publishers of literary books are playing an important role in the standardisation of the grammatical forms and structures. We do not however have adequate publications in different areas to standardise the use of Kashmiri in different technical and scientific domains. Keeping in view the limited use of Kashmiri in different domains, no serious efforts have been made so far in this area.

4. Modernisation

With the fast development in the areas of Science and Technology, it is imperative that the language be an effective vehicle for transmitting knowledge, skills, and disseminating information in these areas. Only a limited number of publications are available in the domain of science and technology. Modernisation of the language would demand the preparation of technical vocabulary and phrases to be used in the scientific and technical texts. No effort has yet been made to develop these special

registers of the language. It has been a usual practice to adapt the forms used in Urdu according to the phonetic characteristics of the language.

5. The role of Institutions

The development of Kashmiri has not become a strong movement at the level of institutions so far. Only a limited number of institutions have played some role and are indirectly involved in the development of the language in different ways. Prominent among them are the Jammu and Kashmir Academy of Art Culture and Languages, University of Kashmir, Central Institute of Indian Languages etc.

The Jammu and Kashmir Academy of Art, Culture and Languages was established in the fifties and is charged with the responsibility of promoting all the languages which are listed in the Constitution of the Jammu and Kashmir State i.e. Kashmiri, Urdu, Hindi, Dogri, Gojri and Ladakhi. The Academy has made a significant contribution by bringing out quite a few books in the Kashmiri language. The Academy has prepared and published Kashmiri and Urdu- Kashmiri dictionaries in seven volumes each, and two volumes of a Kashmiri encyclopedia so far. The Academy provides subsidies to the authors and voluntary organisations for the publication of their books and also awards prizes for the books. It is due to the financial help provided by the Academy that certain books, especially anthologies of Kashmiri literature, have been brought out.

The Academy also brings out a bi-monthly journal entitled *Shiraza*, and an annual volume entitled *Soon Adab*, in Kashmiri. Both of these have devoted special issues to certain important themes. The Department of Kashmiri of the University of Kashmir has made a significant contribution to the use of Kashmiri in education, and the preparation of some basic text and reference materials in this language. The Department offers regular courses for Master's and M. Phil degrees, and provides facilities for the doctoral research in this subject. The department brings out a journal entitled Anahar in this language. A large number of volumes of this journal has been devoted to different themes related to Kashmiri language and literature. The Department has also prepared and published different text materials, which are used as text, and supplementary materials for teaching Kashmiri as a first language.

The Government of Jammu & Kashmir do not have any department devoted to the development of a language or languages, similar to ones in different states. Most of other states have Language Departments and/or Textbook Boards devoted to the promotion of the language or languages of the state, and their use in education and administration.

The Government of India promotes all the languages especially those listed in the VIII Schedule of the Constitution of India. The Govt. of India has been providing funds to different states for the development of the languages, preparation and publication of textbooks, preparation of scientific and technical glossaries, etc. The government also provides financial assistance for the publication of manuscripts, and makes bulk purchase of books in Kashmiri as in other languages. The government of India under this scheme has supported a limited number of projects.

The Central Hindi Directorate has also brought out Hindi-Kashmiri bilingual and Hindi-Kashmiri-English trilingual dictionaries. They have a very limited circulation. They are useful for the second language learners of Kashmiri.

Kashmiri is taught as a second language to the in-service teacher trainees in the Northern Regional Language Centre of the Central Institute of Indian Languages since 1971. A limited number of the teacher trainees trained in this language at the Center are teaching this language in their respective schools. Teaching of Kashmiri as a second language necessitated the preparation of instructional materials in Kashmiri suitable for second language teaching. The CIIL has prepared and published both text as well as supplementary materials for teaching of Kashmiri as a second language. There is a need for the preparation of additional need-based materials for teaching this language in the second language situation. There are no learners' dictionaries and other reference materials prepared and published in this language suitable for a second language teaching and/or learning situation.

As compared to other major languages listed in the VIII Schedule of the Constitution of India, the development of Kashmiri has not been given proper attention due to various reasons. Kashmiri does not have prominent roles in the domains of education and mass media in its home state. It is also not used in the administration in the valley. The efforts made by certain state and central government institutions, autonomous and voluntary organisations have not been sufficient to develop this language. The problems regarding its standardization and modernization can be resolved only after Kashmiri is provided a proper role in education, mass media and administration. It is only after these roles are specified; that the steps to be taken for the development of this language will be meaningful.

6. Social Parameters

Language is primarily used as a vehicle of communication by its speakers in a society. It is a strong mark of social and ethnic identity of an individual,

a group of individuals and a particular society as a whole. Language identity is a part of a social and ethnic group identity in its natural environment where the language is spoken natively. It is diluted in a situation where various linguistic groups are involved in inter-communication. Language identity confronts challenges in a situation where the speakers of a particular language group have to move out of its natural environment to a distant land as a result of any socio-economic and political factors. Deliberate efforts need to be made to maintain this identity. In the case of Kashmiri, the migrants or displaced persons from the Kashmir valley who have either voluntarily migràted or where forced to do so and have settled down in the Jammu region of the state or other parts of India or abroad are facing challenges in maintaining the language. A sociolinguistic survey (Koul 1997) conducted for the language maintenance and language loss of Kashmiri migrant children in Jammu and Delhi in the age group of 10-20 reveals certain facts as follows:

(i) The use of Kashmiri is mainly confined in the oral communication at home between the elders and its use has decreased to 50% in the communication between elders and children in Jammu and to 20% in Delhi. Children prefer to use Hindi and English at home.

(ii) The children do not use Kashmiri even with other Kashmiri children or teachers in schools. It is only in the special schools meant for migrant Kashmiri children in Jammu, Kashmiri is occasionally used in oral communication.

(iii) The children do not listen to Kashmiri music or radio progammes, and do not watch TV programmes in Kashmiri even if there is an opportunity.

(iv) The children do not read or write in Kashmiri. About 10% informants reported that they read Kashmiri in the Devanagri script.

(v) The children in Jammu have better opportunities in maintaining Kashmiri in their families than in Delhi. The reason being that most of them live in the cluster of houses/camps where they come in contact with other native speakers of Kashmiri.

(vi) Educated parents prefer to use English and Hindi in communicating with their children.

(vii) The parents prefer to send their children to English medium schools.

The survey also brought out that Kashmiri is maintained to a large extent by parents and other older respondents in their family domains. They have very rare opportunities in using the language in other social domains involving other members of the same language community. Kashmiri is not used in the work environment.

The tests conducted for assessing the language loss indicate that there is a loss of vocabulary related to the culture-bound items, food items, typical Kashmiri household items, architecture and environment which are not now in use outside the valley of Kashmir. Similarly, the children do not understand and use idioms, proverbs, and literary terms in Kashmiri.

The results of the survey suggest that the maintenance of Kashmiri among the younger generation is under a serious threat. There is a continuous decline in its use outside the valley. In the absence of its use in education and other economic activities, special efforts need to be made by the parents, Kashmiri community and other agencies to ensure its maintenance in the family and some social domains as far as possible.

Though the Kashmiri language is not used adequately in education, administration and mass media in the Kashmiri valley, maintenance of Kashmiri as a spoken language in domestic and social domains is not under immediate threat. The maintenance of the Kashmiri language by the younger generation outside its natural environment is fast declining. This will certainly result in deepening the identity crisis of the Kashmiri community settled outside the valley in future.

7. Conclusion

Though included in the VIII Schedule of the Constitution of India, Kashmiri is not even recognised as an associate official language in its home State for its use in administration. It has a primary role in day-to-day communication by its native speakers. The lack of adequate patronage of the language at the political and social levels has hampered its development. The language does suffer from the lack of standardisation especially in the use of Perso-Arabic and Devanagri scripts used for writing it. Its insufficient use in education and mass media is responsible for the lack of modernisation. Its adequate use in administration, education and

mass media will ensure its development, standardisation and modernisation.

As other languages and concerned societies, the Kashmiri language and society too are very closely related. The language reflects the socio-cultural patterns, ethos, values, beliefs etc. of the people who speak it natively. Its speakers fall into two religious streams: Muslims and Hindus. There are minor dialectical variations in the speech of the two communities. The variations are mutually intelligible and can be termed as different styles of speech. There are certain regional and social dialects, which show variations primarily at the phonological and lexical levels. The socio-semantic variations do not hamper the communication between the people belonging to different areas and social stratification. The use of personal names, surnames, nicknames, kinship terms, modes of address and modes of greetings show that the language represents the social and cultural patterns of the Kashmiri society. The Kashmiri society is adequately reflected in the use of Kashmiri language in its various domains.

Personal Names

1. Introduction

The study of personal names including surnames and nicknames in Kashmiri has not received adequate attention so far. Some earlier works (Lawrence 1895, Anand Koul 1924, R.K.Koul 1982) have made some direct or indirect references to the subject from different points of view. No attempt has been made to compile the data and study the subject from linguistic point of view.

Besides socio-cultural and religious parameters, linguistic factors must form an important aspect of the discussion of names, surnames and nicknames of any language or region. In this paper, an attempt is made to present a brief description of personal names including surnames and nicknames of Kashmiri. Wherever necessary, the description related to Hindu and Muslim personal names, is provided separately. Certain common characteristic of these names especially surnames and nicknames too are pointed out.

2. Personal Names

A personal name, also called 'given' or 'Christian' name, is the name given to a child after its birth. The *naamakaran* (name giving) ceremony, known under other names as well, is very common among various Indian societies. Lawrence (1895) has mentioned that a Kashmiri Hindu child received its name at the ceremony of *sondar* (the ceremony for bathing the mother and the child on the seventh day of the birth of the child). Though the ceremony of *šran-sondar* is still performed, but it is not necessary to give a name to child on that very day. A child is normally given an affectionate nickname by elders soon after its birth and the personal name is given later either by parents or other elder relatives.

In ancient times, most of the Kashmiri Hindu names were after the names of gods and goddesses. Some names were after the names of places, names of animals and birds, and names of the objects of nature: sun, moon, stars, mountains, rivers etc. Whereas, in some Indian societies there has been a tradition of giving secret names to the child, besides its official name, this practice has never been adopted by Kashmiris.

3. Structure of Hindu names

3.1. Ancient Hindu names

Samples of personal names of ancient Kashmiri Hindus are preserved in the Sanskrit texts in Sanskritic forms. We get a reference to a number of non-Aryan Naga names in the Nilamata Puran, which were prevalent among Kashmiri Hindus. These names also appear Sanskritized: Ajkarna, Ashvakarna, Darimukha, Oran, Rocan, Hari, Nartani, Gayan, etc.

The personal names of Kashmiri Hindus in ancient and medieval periods were mostly of single word structure. These are preserved in their Sanskritized form in the old Sanskrit literature and other texts written in or on Kashmir. There is no evidence available regarding their actual pronunciation by the native speakers of Kashmiri. Examples:

1. Males
   Abhinanda, Avanda, Avantivarmana, Bhaskara, Bilhana, Bhuumka, Cakarpala, Chandraka, Damodara, Dharmsoka, Cananda, Jonaraaja, Kalphana, Kanaka, Kshemendra, Lalla, Mammatta, Mankha, Pravarsena, Kalhana, Randitya, Budrata, Shambhu, Srivar, Syamala, Sankuku, Sivaswami, Tilaka, Udbhata, Vamana, Vasudeva, Vijayapala, Yashke.

2. Females

   Amritlekhaa, Anjanaa, Bapikaa, Bhinnaa, Bijjaa, Bimbaa, Candalaa, Candrii, Diddaa, Devlekhaa, Omadevii, Hamsii, Iraavatii, Indraa, Jayadevii, Jayalakshmii, Jayamatii, Kamalaa, Kayaa, Kshmaa, Lothitaa, Kanjarikaa, Maghavatii, Nonikaa, Nnaagaa, Nagalataa, Padmasrii, Sahjaa, Sammaa, Sharadaa, Shrilekhaa, Suyyah, Uddaa, Vallabhaa, Yasomatii, etc.

3.2. Early Modern Meriod

Since the late nineteenth century the structure of Kashmiri Hindu personal names has undergone various changes. There were mainly two developments: (1) Personal names derived from Sanskrit and of non-Aryan origin have been Kashmirized in both form and pronunciation, and (2) Single-word personal names became less frequent and they were replaced by two-term or compound personal names.

3.3. Borrowed Personal names

The Sanskrit and Perso-Arabic borrowed personal names in Kashmiri

have undergone various phonological changes to confirm to the phonetic and phonological structure of Kashmiri in their spoken usage, but usually maintained their spelling system as per the original written conventions:

(i) The diminutive mono-syllabic or disyllabic personal names are formed by adding /ɨ/ suffix to the roots:

dayɨ (< daya: 'kindness'), ɨšɨ (< i:švar 'God'), ga:šɨ (< ga:š 'light'), veši/vešnɨ (< višnu: 'Lord Vishnu'), ɨasɨ (< las 'live long').

(ii) The voiced aspirated stops /bh/, /dh/, /gh/ in Sanskrit borrowed personal names are replaced by voiceless stops /b/, /d/, and /g/ respectively:

bhu:šan	>	bu:šnɨ	Bhushan
ra:dha:	>	ra:da:	Radha
raghu	>	rɔgɨ	Raghu

(iii) The uvular stop /q/, fricatives /f/, /G/, and /x/ in the Perso-Arabic borrowed personal names are replaced by velar stop /k/, bilabial stop /ph/, velar stops /g/ and /kh/ respectively:

qa:dir	>	kə:dir	Qadir
šari:f	>	šəri:ph	Sharif
Gula:m	>	gɔla:m	Ghulam
xəzɨr	>	khəzar	Xazar

(iv) The consonant clusters in the final position are split up by intrusive vowels:

farz	>	pharɨz	Farz
fazɨ	>	phazɨl	Fazal

(v) The vowels /a/ and /a:/ change to /ə/ and /ə:/respectively when followed by a constant and a vowel /i/ or /i:/.

ka:ši:	>	kə:ši:	Kashi
nazi:r	>	nəzi:r	Nazir
a:sif	>	ə:siph	Asif

(vi) The vowel /u/ change into /ɔ/.

guṇ	>	gɔn	Gun
Gula:m	>	gɔla:m	Ghulam
sukh	>	sɔkh	Sukh

(vii) The semivowel /y/ is added in the initial position of the borrowed personal names beginning with the front vowel /i/ or /i:/

imra:n	>	yimra:n	Imran
i:šar	>	yi:šar	Ishar

(viii) The semivowel /v/ is added in the initial position of the borrowed personal names beginning with the back vowels /u/ and /o/:

omka:r	>	vɔmka:r	Omkar
umar	>	vumar	Omar/Umar

(ix) The vowel /o:/ is replaced by /u:/

šo:bha:	>	šu:ba:	Shobha
so:ma:	>	su:ma:	Suma

3.4. Compound Hindu personal names

In the formation of compound personal names, a set of definite second member morphemes is used along with the first names. There are co-occurrence restrictions in their usage. Very common second member morphemes used in compound personal names of males are: *ra:m* (Ram), *cand* (Chand), *da:s* (Das), *ka:kh* (Kakh), *na:th* (Nath), *la:l* (Lal), *krišin* (Krishen), and *kuma:r* (Kumar). The terms *ra:m* and *ka:kh* are added to the diminutive first names only. The terms *na:th, cand, da:s, krišen* and *kuma:r* are the second member terms used in names borrowed from Hindi. The term *la:l* is used with some diminutive first names as well as their Hindi complete forms borrowed in Kashmiri. Following are the examples of their usage:

1. ra:m (Lord Rama):

   dayɨ (<daya: 'kindness') ra:m (Daya Ram)< kə̃:ṭhɨ (<kãṭh 'throat') ra:m (Kantha Ram)< šavɨ (< šiv 'Lord Shiva') ra:m (Shiva Ram)< siriyɨ (<su:riya 'sun') ra:m (Siri/Suriya Ram), nə:thɨ (< na:th 'lord/master') ra:m (Nath Ram), daši (<daršan 'glimpse') ra:m (Darshan Ram),kiši (<ke:šav)ra;m (Keshav Ram), vešɨ/vešnɨ (<višnu 'Lord Vishnu') ra:m (Vishnu Ram), gõ:dɨ (< go:vind 'name for Krishna') ra:m (Vishnu Ram), gõ:di (< go:vind 'name for Krishna') ra:m (Govind Ram), iši (<ɨ:švar 'God') ra:m (Išvar Ram), ga:šɨ (ga:š 'light') ra:m (Gwasha Ram), lasɨ (< las 'live long') ra:m (Lasa Ram).

2. cand (< candr 'moon')

   ta:ra: (< ta:ra:) 'star') cand (Tara Chand), krišin (< krišn 'Lord Krishna') cand (Krishen Chand), ra:m ('Lord Ram')cand (RamChand),amar(<amar 'immortal') cand (Amar Chand).

2. da:s ('servant')

   krɨšin (< krišen) da:s (Krishen Das), ṭho:kur (< ṭha:kur 'lord') da:s (Thakur Das).

3. ka:kh ('uncle')

It is frequently used as an honorific mode of address for addressing one's uncles or elder brothers and/or cousins by Muslims). It is used as an honorific term mostly with elderly males for whom respect is intended like the following names:

   gu:vind/gõ:dɨ (< Govind) ka:kh, dayɨ (< daya:) ka:kh, šavɨ (< šiva) ka:kh, siriyɨ (< su:riya 'sun') ka:kh, nə:thɨ (< na:th) ka:kh, išɨ (< i:švar) ka:kh, ga:šɨ (< ga:š 'light') ka:kh, prasa:dɨ (< prasad) ka:kh, mahi:šar/mahi (< mahešvar) ka:kh, ta:rakh (< tarakh 'stars') ka:kh, sarvɨ ka:kh, a:nand (< a:nand 'pleasure') ka:kh, siəhzɨ (<sahaj 'simple') ka:kh, labɨ (< la:bh 'profit') ka:kh, lakh'man (< lakšman) ka:kh.

4. na:th ('lord' or 'master')

This term is very frequently used with the Hindu names from early twentieth century. This second name term is used with the following first names:

   brijɨ/brɨj (< braj 'Lord Krishna's birth place'; Krishna is called 'Lord of Braj' as well) na:th (Brij/Braj Nath), vɔmɨ/vɔmka:r (< omka:r) na:th (Omkar Nath), dərgi/dorga: (< durga: 'Goddess Durga') na:th (Durga Nath), da:ri/da:rika: (< dɔ:rika: 'Dwaraka', Lord Krishen is calld the 'Lord of Dwarika') na:th (Dwaraka Nath), ja:nɨ/ja:nki: (< ja:naki 'Sita)' na:th (Janki Nath), hedɨ/heday (< hriday 'heart') na:th (Hriday Nath), kə:la:š (< kaila:š 'Kailash mountain'; the Kailash mountain is abode of Lord Shiva) na:th (Kailash Nath), prayɨ/preyam (< pre:m 'love') na:th (Prem Nath), gupɨ/gu:pi: (< go:pi: 'beloved of Lord Krishna') na:th (Gopi Nath), məhi:šar (< maheš 'Lord Shiva') na:th (Maheshar Nath), treyi/treylu:ki: (< trilo:ki 'the universe') na:th

(Som/Soom Nath), šɔmbɨ/šombu: (< šambhu: 'Lord Shiva') na:th (Shambu Nath), jagɨ/jagar (< jag 'world') na:th (Jagar Nath), prathɨ/ prathvi: (< prithvi: 'earth') na:th (Prithvi Nath), di:nɨ/di:na: (< di:n 'poor') na:th (Dina Nath), ra:de: (< ra:dha: beloved of Lord Krishna) na:th (Radhe Nath), arzan (< arjan) na:th (Arjan Nath) ba:skar (< bha:skar 'sun') na:th (Bhaskar Nath), kə:ši: (< ka:ši: - a holy place for pilgrimage, another name for Banaras) na:th (Kashi Nath), po:šɨ/ po:škar (< puškar 'a sacred place for Brahma') na:th (Pushkar/Poshkar Nath). In the list of personal names given above before the first names listed, diminutive forms of these names are given ending in the vowel /ɨ/. It is to be noted that the second name *na:th* cannot be added to the diminutive names: *bɔdɨ na:th, *jagɨ na:th, *di:nɨ na:th etc.

5. la:l ('ruby')

This term has also remained in use as a second term in a large number of compound personal names beginning with the following first names:

ga:šɨ la:l (Gwash Lal). girɨ/girdə:ri: (< giridha:ri 'one who holds mountain'; another name of lord Krishna, who is believed to have lifted a 'mountain' called Govardhan on his hand in order to save the lives of human beings and animals from being washed away in rain) la:l (Girdhari Lal), ša:mɨ (< šya:m 'black'- a name of Krishna after his black complexion (Shyam Lal), pya:ri (< pia:ra: 'dear one') la:l (Piare/Pyare Lal), javɨ/java:har (< java:har 'diamond') la:l (Jawahar Lal), camnɨ/caman (< caman 'flower bed') la:l (Chaman Lal), vedɨ (< ve:d 'Ved') la:l (Veda Lal), jiyl (< ji: 'heart') la:l, (Jiya Lal), mu:ti: (< mo:ti: 'pearl') la:l (Moti Lal), ro:šnɨ/ro:šan 'shining') la:l (Roshan Lal), bu:šan (<bhu:šan 'ornament') la:l (Bhushan Lal). It is to be noted that most of the above names are used in Hindi as well.

6. krɨšin ('name of lord Krishna')

This term is used as a second member of a few compound personal names in Kashmiri. These names also have been borrowed from Hindi and are used in other Hindi speaking states as well:

daya: krɨšin (Daya Krishen), siri: (< su:riya 'sun') krišin (Siri Krishen), gu:pi: krɨšin (Gopi Krishen), mohan krɨšin (Mohan Krishen), maha:ra:j ('king') krɨšen (Maharaj Krishen), ra:da: (< ra:dha:) krɨšin (Radha Krishen), ru:p ('beauty' or 'grace') krɨšin (Roop Krishen), te:j ('grace') krɨšin (Tej Krishen), p'a:re: (< p'a:ra:

'dear one') krišin (Piarey Krishen), te:j ('grace') krišin (Tej Krishen), jayi (< jay 'victory') krišin (Jaya Krishen) etc. The second term *krišin* cannot be added to the diminutive forms of the first names: *dayi krišin, *p'a:ri krišin etc.

7. kuma:r ('prince')

This term has frequently been used along with a number of first names in Hindi. A number of such personal names have been borrowed from Hindi into Kashmiri:

ašo:k kumar (Ashok Kumar), viji/vijay (< vijay 'victory') kuma:r (Vijay Kumar), vino:d (< vinod 'enjoyment') kuma:r (Vinod Kumar), ra:ji/ra:j kumar (Raj Kumar), pawan kuma:r (Pawan Kumar) etc. The term *kuma:r*, however, cannot be added to the diminutive forms of the names given above: *viji kumar, *ra:ji kuma:r etc.

The second member terms of compound female personal names are:

ma:l (< ma:la: 'garland'), Mal, ded (term normally used for addressing one's mother or grand mother). Ded, de:vi: (< de:vi 'goddess') Devi, vati: (Vati), and kuma:ri: (Kumari). There are co-occurrence restrictions in their use. The terms *ma:l* and *kuma:ri:* are added to complete first names of females borrowed from Sanskrit.

1. ma:l ('garland')

This second term is very frequently used with the following given or first names:

Arni: (< aranya 'forest'; also name of a flower) ma:l (Arni Mal), po:ši (< po:š 'flower') ma:l (Posha Mal), kɔngi (< kong 'saffron') ma:l (Konga Mal), veshi (< višva 'world') ma:l (Vesha Mal), bo:ni (<bu:n' 'maple tree') ma:l (Boni Mal), ra:da: (< ra:dha) ma:l (Radha Mal) hi: ('jasmine') ma:l (Hi Mal), vani (< van/ban 'forest') ma:l (Vana Mal), zayi (< jay 'victory') ma:l (Jaya Mal), zitsi ('sparkles') ma:l (Zacha Mal), rikhi (< rikh 'line') ma:l (Rakha Mal).

2. vati:

This term is added to the following first names:

praba: (< prabha: 'light') vati: (Prabha Vati), ru:pa: (< ru:p 'beauty') vati: (Rupa Vati), gɔni (< guṇ 'qualities') vati: (Guna Vati), šu:ba: (<

šo:bha: 'grace') vati: (Shobha Vati), kamla: (< kamal 'lotus') vati: (Kamla Vati), ta:ra: (< ta:ra: 'star') vati: (Tara Vati), danɨ (< dhan 'wealth') vati: (Dhana Vati), li:la: ('a devotional song') vati: (Leela Vati), vombra: (< vumbɨr 'age') vati: (Ombra Vati), su:ma (< so:m 'sun') vati: (Soma Vati), mi:na: (< maina: 'cookoo') vati: (Meena Vati).

3. ded (an honourific term used for mother/grand mother)

This term is frequently used as a term of address for mother or grand mother). It is normally added to a limited number of given names of elderly females for showing respect:

gɔnɨ/gɔnɨr (< guṇ 'qualities'; gɔnɨr 'one full of good qualities') ded (Gona Ded), rɔpɨ (< rɔph 'silver') ded (Rupa Ded), rə:nim (< rə:ni: 'queen') ded (Ranim Ded), lalɨ (a famous Kashmiri poetess of the 14th century named Lala or Laleshwari:) ded (Lala Ded), zu:n ('moon') ded (Zoon Ded), yambɨr (name of a flower), ded (Yambar Ded), etc.

4. de:vi: 'goddess'

This term is added to a limited number of the first names:

mu:hni: (< mo:hini: 'attractive') de:vi: (Mohini Devi), ratna: (< ratan 'diamond') de:vi (Ratna Devi), phu:la: (< phu:l 'flower') de:vi: (Phoola Devi), kɔši/kɔšal (< kušal 'fine' < Kaushalya was the name of the Lord Rama's mother) de:vi: (Kaushalya Devi), kišni:/krišna: (< krišan 'Lord Krishen') de:vi: (Krishna Devi), sarla: (< sarl 'simple') de:vi: (Sarla Devi), tolsi: (< tulsi: 'the name of a plant used for worship'; this term in Kashmiri is also used for a broad golden necklace) de:vi (Tulsi Devi), lakhimi: (< lakšmi: 'goddess of wealth') de:vi: (Lakhmi/Lakhimi Devi), etc.

5. kuma:ri:

This term is also added to the first names of Hindu women mostly borrowed from Hindi:

uša: (< u:ša: 'dawn') kuma:ri: (Usha Kumari), phu:la: (< phu:l 'flower') kuma:ri: (Phoola Kumari), krišna: (< krišn 'Lord Krishen') kuma:ri: (Krishna Kumari), santo:š ('contentment') kuma:ri: (Santosh Kumari), etc.

3.5. Single-word Names

In recent years single-word personal names have again become popular. Most of these names are very common in Hindi as well, and have been borrowed from it by Kashmiri Hindus. Some ancient Kashmiri Hindu names are also used:

1. Males

   amit (< amrit 'nectar') (Amit), ašvani: (Ashvani), navi:n (Navin), sanjay (Sanjay), a:šu: (Ashu), puni:t (Puneet), vindit (Vindit), ra:hul (Rahul), kašap (after the Rishi Kashyap of Kashmir), kalhan (Kalhan), bilhan (Bilhan), etc.

2. Females

   re:kha: ('a line') (Rekha), pri:ti: ('love') (Priti), anjali: ('palm') (ənjali), gi:ta: (Geeta), soni: (< sona: 'gold') (Soni), nansi: (Nansi), hi:ma:l (Himal), indra: (Indra), suya: (Suya), lale:švri: (Laleshvari) etc.

4. Structure of Muslim Personal Names

With the spread of Islam in Kashmir, Muslim names based on Persian and Arabic names were introduced. There was a large-scale conversion from Hindus to Muslims. As per the convention, the first step for converting someone from any faith into Islam necessitates renaming the person in an Islamic name. These names are mostly drawn from Islamic texts including the Holy Quran.

Main Muslim personal names are of a compound structure, which may or may not be followed by surnames. During the early and middle periods, names were chosen strictly on the basis of Muslim religious texts. The ninety-nine names of the God in the Islamic literature (for the list see Koul 1982: 137-138) were the main sources of these names.

4.1. Variations in Muslime names

The compound personal names have undergone various phonological changes. In most of the cases only the second member of the compound name is retained in its Kashmirized spoken form. Following are the examples of such names giving both their actual spoken as well as written or traditional forms:

Spoken Short Form	Spoken Full Form	Written
a:hdɨ	abdul aha:d (< a:had)	Abdul Ahad
əzi:z	abdul əzi:z (< azi:z)	Abdul Aziz
kha:lɨ	khə:likh (< xa:liq)	Abdul xaliq
rəhma:n	abdul rəhma:n (<rahma:n)	Abdul Raḥman
raza:kh	raza:kh (< raza:q)	Abdul Razaq
ganɨ	abdul gəni: (< Gani:)	Abdul Gani
kadɨ	kə:dir (< qa:dir)	Abdul Qadir
sata:r	abdul sata:r	Abdul Satar
va:hbɨ	abdul vaha:b	Abdul Wahab
ga:phur	gapha:r (< Gafa:r)	Abdul Ghafar
majɨ/məjid	abdul maji:d	Abdul Majeed
rəhimɨ	abdul rəhi:m (< rahi:m)	Abdul Rahim
rosul	gəla:m rasu:l	Ghulam Rasool
məmɨ	gəla:m mohamad	Ghulam Mohammad
ma:hmud	gəla:m mohamad	Ghulam Mohammad
nabɨ	gəla:m nəbi: (< nabi:)	Ghulam Nabi
amɨ/a:hmud	gəla:m a:hmad	Ghulam Ahmad
mahdɨ	məhi:di:n (< mohi-u-din)	Ghulam Mohi-ul-Din
isɨ	ismə:yil (<isma:il)	Mohammad I smayil
kamɨ	kama:l ahmad	Kamal Ahmad
akɨ	məhmad akbar	Mohammad Akbar
ibɨ	ibɨrə:him (< ibra:hi:m)	Mohammad Ibrahim
khalɨ	khəlil (< xali:l)	Mohammad Khalil
musɨ	mustapha: (< mustafa:)	Mohammad Mustafa
magɨ	makbu:l (< maqbu:l)	Mohammad Maqbool
ramɨ/ramuz	ramza:n	Mohammad Ramzan
jama:lɨ	jama:l	Mohammad Jamal
jaba:rɨ	jaba:r (< jabba:r)	Mohammad jabbar
subɨha:n	subaha:n	Mohammad Subhan
rajbɨ	rajab	Mohammad Rajab
yo:ku:b	yo:ku:b (< ya:qu:b)	Mohammad Yaqub
yu:suph	yu:suph (< yu:suf)	Mohammad Yusuf

The diminutive or short forms are not compounded and are used in informal speech only. Compounds of personal names are formed by adding the second fixed terms to the first names. The Kashmiri spoken forms of these words are: abdul/obdul (Abdul), gəla:m (Ghulam), and məhmad (Mohammad). All these fixed terms are used in the beginning as illustrated above in both spoken as well as written versions. The spoken forms of the

full names are illustrated as: *abdul aha:d* (Abdul Ahad), *gɔla:m rasu:l* (Ghulam Rasool), *mɔhmad rajab* (Mohammad Rajab) etc. In a few cases, however, it is the first member or part of the compound name which is retained in its Kashmirized spoken form. Examples are:

Spoken Diminutive	Spoken Full Form	Written
əliyi	əli: mɔhmad	Ali Mohammad
baši	bəši:r ahmad	Bashir Ahmad
guli	gul mɔhmad	Gul Mohammad
mɔmi	gɔla:m mohamad	Ghulam Mohammad
habi	habi:bulla:	Habib-Ullah
soni	sona:ulla:	Sana-Ullah
jali	jala:l di:n	jalal-ul-Din
sira:ji	sira:j di:n	Siraj-ul-Din
khəzir	khəzir mɔhmad	Xazar Mohammad
šəri:phi	šəri:ph di:n	Sharif-ul-Din

The honorific terms of address *ka:kh* (uncle), *sə:b,* or *ṭo:ṭh* ('dear one') are added to the short as well as full forms of the personal names for showing respect and/or affection. Examples:

1. ka:kh

   əzi:z ka:kh, rami ka:kh, sata:ri ka:kh, etc.

2. sə:b

   a:had sə:b, rəhma:n sə:b, baši sə:b, guli sə:b, habi sə:b, soni sə:b etc.

3. ṭo:ṭh

   əzi:z ṭo:ṭh, khəlil ṭo:ṭh, rami ṭo:ṭh, magi ṭo:ṭh, kə:dir ṭo:ṭh, vaha:b ṭo:ṭh, rosul ṭo:ṭh etc.

4.2. Modern Muslim Names

Currently, there is a tendency towards using the single-word personal names followed by surnames for Muslim males. Most of these names are borrowed from the names of Muslims from outside the state and are not necessarily based on the religious texts. Examples are:

həsi:b (< hasi:b) Hasib, muni:b (Munib), nəzi:r (< nazi:r) Nazir, šabi:r (< šabi:r) Shabir, əni:s (< ani:s) Anis, zi:nath (< zi:nat) Zeenat, ə:siph

(< a:sif) Asif, amjad (Amjad), yimra:n (< imra:n) Imran, šamša:d (Shamshad), yi:sa:r (<i:sa:r) Isar, yə:si:n (< ya:si:n) Yasin, jami:l (< jami:l) Jameel, phiro:z (< firo:z) Firoz.

Among the Muslim female names, only a few traditional names such as 'Fatima' are chosen on the basis of Muslim religious texts. A large number of other Muslim female names are after the names of objects of nature, nice qualities and objects of beauty. Some female names borrowed from other languages have also been Kashmirized in their pronunciation.

sa:jɨ (< sa:jida) Sajida, pha:tɨ (< fa:tima) Fatima, əmi:nɨ (< a:mi:na) Amina, ra:jɨ (< ra:j) Raja, ha:jrɨ (< ha:jira:) Hajra, phazɨɨ (< fazl 'kindness') Fazli, səndar ('beautiful') Sundri, ma:lɨ (< ma:l 'garland'), Mala, sa:rɨ (<saira:) Saira, ja:nɨ (<ja:n 'life/good') Jana, pharɨz (< farz 'duty') Faraz, zu:n ('moon') Zoon, bakhɨt (< baxt 'fortune') Baxat, məkhtɨ ('pearls') Mokhti, rəhət (< ra:hat 'peace') Rahat, ta:jɨ (< ta:j 'crown') Taj, rəhmat ('blessings') Rahmat, sita:ri ('star') Sitara, kho:tan (< xa:tu:n 'lady') Khotan, khətij (< xati:ja: < xadi:ja) Khatiji, zə:nɨ (zə:n 'basket') Zana, ze:bɨ ('suitable, attractive') Zeba, zayɨ (< zia 'light') Zaya, etc.

Following are some modern names of Kashmiri Muslim Females:

raphi:kɨ (< rafi:q 'friend') Rafiqa, šamɨ (šama: 'candle') Shama, nəsi:mɨ (< nasi:m 'morning breeze') Nasima, najmɨ (< najm 'star') Najma, rəši:dɨ (< raši:da:) Rasheeda, həni:phɨ (< hani:fa:) Hanifa, həli:mɨ (< hali:m 'polite') Halima, səli:mɨ (<sali:m) Salima, nəphi:sɨ (<nafi:s 'good') Nafisa, nəyi:mɨ (<nayi:m 'gifted') Nayima, phəri:dɨ (< fari:da:) Farida, kulsumɨ (< kulsum) Kulsum, ziyɨ (< ziya:) Zia, ya:smi:n (jasmine/ 'name of a flower') Yasmin, salmɨ (< salma:) Salma, riha:nɨ (< riha:na:) Rihana, parvi:nɨ (< parvi:n) Parvina, šaba:nɨ (< šaba:na:) Shabana, rukhsa:nɨ (< ruxsa:na:) Rukhsana, etc.

The second member terms of compound Muslim female names are:

be:gam (Begum) *ba:no:* (Banu) *a:pɨ*, ded etc. The terms *be:gam* and *ba:no:* are very frequently used with most of the Muslim female first names:

1. ra:jɨ be:gam (Raja Begum), zu:nɨ be:gam (Zoon Begum), ta:jɨ begam (Taj Begum), zə:nɨ begam (Zana Begum), etc.
2. rəphi:k ba:no: (Rafiqa Bano), gulšan ba:no: (Gulshan Bano), səli:m ba:no: (Salim Bano), etc.

The terms *a:pɨ* and *ded* are honorific terms added to the first names. The term *a:pɨ* is normally used for elder sisters, aunts etc. Examples:

zə:nɨ a:pɨ , sa:rɨ a:pɨ, ta:jɨ ded, sa:jɨ ded etc.

Certain 'derogatory' terms are added to the first male and female names by illiterates. These terms are *khor/khər* (unsophisticated, one who has an eczema, a skin disease on head) and *ko:n/kə:n'* ('one eyed person'). Examples:

momɨ khor/ko:n, amɨ khor/ko:n, ra:jɨ kə:n'/ khər, zə:nɨ kə:n'/ khər, ja:nɨ kə:n'/khər, etc.

5. Surnames and Nicknames

The majority of Kashmiri Hindus belong to the category of Saraswat Brahmans. Only a small minority group among Hindus – Buhuris and Purbis, stated to have come from outside the valley and settled in Kashmir are believed to belong either to Kshetri or Vaisha communities. 'Kashmiri Brahmins are said to have originally belonged to only six gotras, — By intermarriage with other Brahmins the number of gotras multiplied to 199' (Koul 1924). In ancient Kashmir, the use of surname among Hindus was quite negligible. The present surname Koul—a direct descendant of Dattatriya gotra appears to be a prominent surname of Kashmiri Hindus in ancient time. It is also believed that 'almost all the Kashmiri Pandits were Kouls and they were later on subdivided according to different nicknames and with the passage of time, their nicknames became permanent surnames (Koul 1982:89). The surname 'Koul' is derived from Mahakoul—one of the names of lord Lord Shiva. All the Kashmiri Hindus are Shaivites and it is likely that they chose the surname after the name of the Lord—they worship.

The practice of using surnames along with personal names was not followed in ancient period in Kashmir. Rajatarangini mentions the use of some nicknames. The practice of using surnames with the personal names has become popular from the late medieval or early modern period.

There is no caste system prevalent among Muslims. They are divided in professional groups and some religious sects. A definite set of surnames is associated with different sects of the community.

The study of surnames and nicknames is important from socio-semantic point of view. The nicknames used as surnames among both communities are related to a person's profession, occupation, personality, locality to which a person belongs, particular incidents occurred in one's life, abnormal or extraordinary physical characteristics or temperament

of the person concerned. Regarding the use of nicknames, it is not possible to explain why certain nicknames (used as surnames) are common to both Hindus and Muslims, and others are different. Here we will briefly list very common surnames (and nicknames) pointing out some socio-semantic characteristics of these terms.

5.1. Nicknames Related to Profession or Occupation

Among Hindus and Muslims, a large number of Nicknames are related to the profession or occupation of people. The nick name is associated with a person either for taking up a particular profession or occupation himself or for working for someone whose profession or occupation is known by the same name. Examples of such nicknames,which are related to the profession or occupation are:

a:rum ('vegetable grower') Aram, amba:rda:r (amba:r 'huge store') Ambardar, kra:l ('potter') Kral, gu:r ('milkman' or 'cowherd'), Guru, manuṭ ('one and half seers'/a measurement) Mantu/ Manwati, o:khun ('a Muslim teacher of the Persian/Arabic language or Islam) Akhun, baka:ya: (< va:sil ba:ki: 'a revenue official who collects taxes') Bakaya, baza:z ('cloth merchant') Bazaz, ba:da:m ('almond') Badam, ba:mzai ('an employee of Bamzai Pathans') Bamzai, buhu:r' ('a grocer') Bahuri, cakbast (the officer entrusted with the job of keeping an account of chak or estate) Chakbast, cagut ('an employee of Chagutis) Chagtu, diva:n ('an officer in the Sikh court') Diwan, dra:l ('a broker') Dral, ha:kh ('name of a green vegetable'/sweeds) Hakh, pho:te:da:r ('a treasurer' during the Mughal period) Fotedar, merzɨ (some ancestor must have been in the service of a Mirza family) Mirza, munši ('clerk') Munshi, misri: (an ancestor must have either visited Misr (Egypt) or worked for a trader from Egypt) Misri, tamɨn' (tamun means 'the carbon formed on the bottom of utensils when used for cooking on fire'. It is possible that an ancestor of the family might have been black complexioned. Another explanation given is that a person must have served with Taimini Pathans of Kabul) Tamani, tuphci (< to:ph 'a cannon', it is probably coined as a nickname for a person who was either a gunman or dealt with the business of making gunpowder etc. during the Muslim rule) Tufchi, turki (associated with Turks) Turki, darbə:r' ('courtier') Darbari, durə:n' (a person must have served Durrani Pathans) Durrani, nəhər' (nəhər in Kashmiri means a 'canal', those families who lived by the bank of a canal were called nəhər') Nehru, na:lɨ ('a rivulet'; those who lived by the bank of a rivulet' got this name) Nala, na:sti: (< na:s 'snuff')

Nasti, nagə:r' ('a person who beats a drum'; a person employed for making announcements at the beat of the drum got this nickname) Nagari, nə:zir ('a court clerk') Nazir, kandɨhə:r', ('an employee of a trader from Kandhar) Kandhari, kuli: (this term relates to Afghan chiefs: Tarkuli Khan or Noor Kulikhan; an employee of the Pathan chief) Kuli, ko:ṭhɨ ('a granary') Kotha, karɨvo:n' (a seller of 'peas') Karwani, kalɨpu:š (a typical headgear used by old Hindu women) Kalapush, khaza:nci: ('a cashier') Khazanci, khar ('ass') Khar/Kher, khoc (a kind of open boat) Khachu, ganɨha:r (' a kind of cereal') Ganahar, guzarva:n (an official of the excise check-post of the outskrits of a particular town) Guzarvan, tsi:riv ('made of apricot wood'; traders of the apricot wood have probably got this name) Cheru, jawa:nše:r (name of an Afghan Governor of Kashmir) Jawansher, jalə:l' (an employee of Jallali Shia) Jallali, šo:rɨ ('gun powder') Shora, zarɨdco:b ('a trader of turmeric') zaradcob, za:lpu:r' (an employee of traders from Zablistan) Zalapur, zarbu: (< zarɨb 'currency'; an employee of a government mint), həki:m (< hakim 'a medical practitioner'), hə:ši: ('margin') Hashia, hazə:r' (an employee of Hazari (minister) during Moghul or Pathan rule) Hazari, vazir ('minister') Wazir, va:tul ('cabbler/sweeper') Watal, va:zɨ ('cook') Waza, vo:n' ('a shopkeeper') Wani, vugrɨ ('watery cooked rice') Ogra, bə̃:g' (one who calls for prayer in the Mosque) Bangi, mogul (Mughal) Moglu, ka:ndur ('a bakeman') Kandru, kə:z' ('Qazi'- one who decides cases, a judge) Qazi, gu:r ('a milkman') Guru, ganay (people employed on odd jobs like that of butchers etc.) Ganai, ga:ḍɨ ('fish', one who sells fish) Gada or Gadu, cha:n ('carpenter') Chan, cu:dɨr' ('one who works on commission) Chaudri, ti:li: ('oilman') Teli, tilɨvo:n' ('oilman') Tilvani, ḍu:mb (sweepers and other people who perform odd jobs) Dump, dərzi: (means 'tailor' in Hindi-Urdu) Darzi, də̃:dur ('a vegetable seller') Dandru, poṭ ('Kashmiri woollen cloth) Patu, pə:ṭ'gor (one who does embroidery work') Patigaru, pakhciva:l ('pieces or rag') Pakhcival, mistri: ('a mason or a mechanic') Mistri, ma:ṭɨhə:Nz ('a boatman involved in a particular business) Matahanji, rangur ('one who dyes clothes') Rangru, vəki:l ('lawyer') Vakil, və:sil (a revenue official) Vasal, šakdar (official assigned the duties of procuring foodgrains from the farmers) Shakdar, sa:ban ('soap') Saban, sa:leh ('vegetable seller') Saleh, harka:r ('a postman') Harkar, pəhol ('a shepherd') Pahlu, topigor ('one who makes caps') Topigoru, thə̃:ṭhur ('one who makes vessels and palates) Thanthur, Dolva:l ('one who plays drums') Dolval, la:yigor ('one who sells roast grains,

cornflakes etc.') Layigaru, malɨ ('a Muslim Mullah') Malla, na:th ('master') Nath.

5.2. Nicknames and Surnames Related to the Names of Locality

A large number of nicknames and surnames are related to the name of locality or the place of residence of a particular person or family. In certain cases, the persons of such families have actually migrated from their original places of their residence years or generations ago. Examples are:

pə:rim (< apə:rim)those families who have come from the other side of Pir Panjal range got this nick name. The term pə:rim in Kashmiri also refers to any language other than Kashmiri) Parimoo, pu:rɨb' (<pu:rab 'east', pu:rɨb' 'of the east') Purbi, ba:g ('garden'; a family who had their residence near a garden got this surname. They are called baga:ti also) Bag/Bagati, bə:l' (ba:l 'mountain'; a family who had their residence near a mountain/hill got this surname) Bali, madan (madanyar is the name of a mohalla in Srinagar) Madan, mombay (An ancestor must have come from Mumbay to settle in Kashmir) Mombay, muj ('raddish'; there are certain names of places like Muji Gond and Muji Marg. A person from either of these places must have settled in Srinagar) Mujoo, trisɨl or tritshɨl (Trisal is a name of a village) Trisal, nad (name of a ravine) Nad, na:gɨr' (Nagar is a name of a village) Nagri, ṭhus (' a name of a villege') Thusi, danji ('a small ravine') Danji, ka:ṭhju: (< Kathleshwar 'name of a place') Kathjoo, kar (Karhama is a name of a village) Kar, kɔkur ('cock'; Kokargund is a name of a place) Kakru/Kokru, kunzur (Kunzar is a name of a villege) Kanzroo, kri:ḍ ('a thorny bush'; a family must have lived near a thorny bush) Krid, kilam (Kilam is a name of a village) Kilam, kha:nmuš (Khanmoh is a name of a village) Khan-Mushu, ganz ('bad smell'; a family having lived in a locality which was filthy got this surname) Ganz, chatsibəl' (Chatsbal is a name of a village) Chatsbali, tshokur (tshokur is a name of a village) Chakur/Chokru, so:pu:r' (Sopore is a name of a town) Sopori, sapɨr' (Sopar a name of a villege. It is also believed that they have come originally from Iran and settled in Kashmir) Saproo, sum ('a small bridge'; a family having lived near a small bridge probably got this name) Sumi, sombɨl' (Sombal is a name of a village) Sombli, haksar (Hakchar - a name of a village) Haksar, hã:ngul ('deer'; ha:ngalgonḍ – a name of a village) Hangal/Hangloo, hə:l' (ha:l - name of a village) Hali, zaḍ ('a marshy land', residents of an area of marshy land probably got this name) Zadu, zəb' ('wild grass') Zabu, rə:phiz (Shia Muslims'-

a Hindu family which lived in the locality of Shias was probably given this name) Rafiz, rə:na: (Rainavari-name of a place in Srinagar) Raina, kə:bɨl' ('Kabul', ancestors must have come from Kabul or worked in Kabul) Kabili, drə:b' Drabu, panjə:b' (Punjab) Punjabi, marə:z' (Maraz - south and southeast area of the Kashmir valley) Marazi, hə:jini (ha:jan - name of a village) Hajini, salar (salar- name of a village) Salar, ka:riho:m (karihoma - name of a village) Karihama, bochur (Bachur - name of a village:)Bachru, tə:r'gə:m' (Tarigam - name of a village') Tarigami, etc. The married women in their in-laws, mostly in villages, are known after the names of places of their parent's residence. For example šə:l'po:ric ('of Shalipora'), buga:mic ('of Begam), kɔlɨga:mic ('of Kulgam').

5.3. Nicknames Associated with Peculiar Incidents

A large number of Nicknames are associated with peculiar incidents, which must have occurred with the persons concerned. It is not possible to make the speculations of such incidents and explain the associations of these names. Here only the literal meanings of the terms related to such incidents are given which are used as nicknames or surnames. Examples:

pešin ('afternoon') Peshin, pura:n ('pura:n'- books related to Hindu 1mythology) Puran, buji ('old women') Buji, bulɨ, ('fool') Bula, brə::ṭh (< bršṭ -'a person who has derailed from a pious path') Brayth, bã:ḍ ('a folk entertainer') Band, bohgun ('a metallic cooking vessel') Bohgun, manuṭ ('one and half seer') Mantu, musɨ (< mus 'relaxation after hard work' e.g., mus kaḍun 'to rlax') Musa, thapal/thapul ('snatcher') Thaplu, tha:lɨ tsu:r ('a thief of plates') Thalachoor, naka:b ('veil') Nakab, ko:tur ('pigeon') Kotru, kalɨv'o:ṭh ('a kind of wild flower') Kalawathu, ka:kh ('a term of address used for an elder brother/cousin or an uncle') kakh, gamkha:r ('a sympathiser in someone's grief',) Gamkhar, gəḍvɨ ('a metallic water container') Gadva, ju:g' ('a Yogi or a saint') Jogi, tengul ('burning charcoal') Tenglu, tsu:r ('thief') Churu, tsrong ('a handful') Chrongu, sas ('a kind of thick rice and lentils preparation') Sas, sapha:ya: (< saphə:yi 'cleanliness') Saphaya, za:r ('gambling') Zaroo, Zaharba:d ('carbuncle, a skin disease') Zaharbad, labur (< labur 'dry cowdung') Labroo, yach (< yakša:; it is used for a particular wild animal which is not normally visible) Yach, võ:ṭ ('hard skinned walnut') Wantu, vol ('a hole' or 'fire chimney') Waloo or Wali, vɔkhul ('a deep bottomed stone mortar used for grinding spices etc'.) Wakhloo, vã:gun ('brinjal') Wangnoo, cilim ('earthen pot used for smoking tobacco')

Chilim, an'u:ṭ ('an earthen lid of a vessel') Anitu, animɨ ('rice water') Anima, bos ('wood dust') Basu, b'uch ('scorpion') Bichu, bambar ('irrittion') Bambar, bulbul ('cuckoo') Bulbul, boh ('a kind of fruit') Bahu, kapur ('cloth') Kapru, kanṭh ('neck') Kanth, kanguv ('comb') Kangu, kra:yipa:kh ('frying of vegetables') Krayipak, kul ('tree') Kulu, cõ:cɨ ('a ladle') Chonchi, caman ('a flower bed') Chaman, ja:nvar ('animal') Janvar, dagɨ (< dagun 'to beat')Daga, dã:d ('bull') ḍand, nadur ('lotus root') Nadru, no:zukh ('delicate') Nazki, põz ('monkey') Panzu, phɔkut ('blister') Phaktu, bɔkut ('an offspring) Boktu, muji ('raddish') Muju, maka:yi (< makə:y 'maize') Makayi, ma:zan ('broom') Mazan, mengan (shit drops of sheep/goats) Mengan, moh ('mosquitoe') Mohi, vɔdru ('an animal which lives in water') Vodar, vã:dur ('monkey') Vandru, ša:l ('jackal' or 'a shawl') Shal, šo:gɨ ('parrot') Shogu, š:õ:ṭh ('dry ginger') Shonthu, hos ('elephant') Hosu, pã:zu ('about three sers in weight') Panzvu, piš ('bed bug') Pishu, ṭaṭh ('a wooden open container used for feeding cattle') Tath, ṭhu:kur (< Tho:kur 'an idol') Thukar, ṭha:kar (<Tho:kur) Thakar, ṭhag Thag ('a cheat') Thag, ṭhas ('joke') Thas, na:ritsu:r ('one who sets houses on fire') Narachur, na:rɨkər' (literally 'fire bangles') Narakari, ka:v ('crow') Kaw, ku:ṭ ('log of wood') Kutu, ḍomb ('intestines')Dembi, ḍul ('an earthen vessel') Ḍulu, mõḍ ('a huge log of wood') Mondu, ko:tar ('pigeon') Kotru, khar ('donkey') Khar/Kher, khandɨva:v ('a shallow person; a person who shows off') Khandavav, khra:vɨhor ('a wooden sandal') Khravaharu, khu:r ('a barber's razor') Khuru, khokh ('an effigy used to scare away birds from fields of crop') Khokhu, zɔvɨ ('lice') Zavu, zay (< jay 'victory') Zayi, ra:ji ('king') Raja, tsol ('an insect found in water') Cholu/Tsalu, tsar ('bed bug') Tsar, tsɔcivor ('a cake of local bakery') Tsocivari, loṭ ('a tail') Latu, koṭ ('a lad') Kotu etc.

4.4. Nicknames Associated with Physical Characteristics

A good number of nicknames are associated with abnormal or extra-ordinary physical characteristics, handicaps or temperaments of the concerned persons. These nicknames once coined appropriately for a particular person have continued for generations. Some such nicknames are listed below giving their literal meanings and brief explanations wherever necessary:

paḍar ('cloven hoof'—someone with a deformed foot') Padar, bombur ('black bee'-someone with dark complexion') Bambroo, bro:r ('cat' - a blue eyed person) Braroo, tut ('a person with long chin) Tut,

trakur ('hard'- a person with hot temperament) Trakru, dara:z ('long, tall'- a very tall person) Ḍaraz, dev ('a giant'- a huge person) Dev, ḍa:s' ('destroyer'; 'a spendthrift')Dasi, nikɨ ('an affectionate pet name given to a baby boy') Nikka, mušra:n ('an ugly man with a huge body') Mushran, mo:ṭɨ ('a fat man') Mota, moṭ ('thick or fat') Mattu, martsɨvã:gun ('pepper'- a red faced man or a person with a very hot temperament) Marchawangan, ma:m ('maternal uncle' – a person who pokes his nose in everything) Mam, miski:n ('poor or penniless') Miskeen, mandal ('buttocks'-a person with huge buttocks) Mandal, kob (hunch backed') Kaboo, ka:tsur ('a brown haired person') Kachru, kichul ('long bearded') Kichloo, khoš ('left handed person') Khoshu, khor ('a bald person with eczema on head; a rowdy person') Khoru, ka:rihol ('a person with twisted nick') Karihaloo, kol ('dumb') Kaloo, ka:v ('crow'-a very black complexioned person) Kaw, kalɨ ('head'- someone with huge or abnormal head) Kala, guru:ṭ ('clay colour'- a person with a clay color complexion) Gurtu, ganju: ('a bald person') Ganjoo, gagur ('mouse') Gagroo, shõgul ('a person born with six fingers') Shangloo, sikh ('sikh-a person with long hair and beard) Sikh, honḍ('sheep') Handoo, hokh ('dry'- a thin or frail person) Hakhoo, long ('a lame person') Langoo, tsok ('sour'or 'bottom') Chakoo, tshoṭ ('a short statured person') Chot, ca:cɨ ('paternal uncle') Chacha, vo:khɨ ('a funy person or a person with abnormal physique) Vokha, busɨ ('a person with pale face') Basu, kanur('a person with abnormal ears') Kanru, gurɨ ('a person with very fair complexion') Guru, co:r ('dumb') Choru, ca:pir' ('one who talks a lot') Chapri, zor ('deaf') Zoru, tromb ('one with spots like that of smallpox on face') Trambu, bodur ('a person with white face') Badru, beḍab ('inappropriate' or 'uneven'- a funny personality) Bedab, be:da:r ('active' or 'alert') Bedar, bacɨ ('a child or a child like person') Baca, led (horse's shit) Ledu, vɔthal ('one who is always in his toes' Vothal, pu:t ('an offspring') Putu, nos (a person with abnormal nose) Nasu, da:r'al ('bearded') Darel, dastə:r' ('with turban')Dastari, legɨ (leg 'dirt of eyes') Lega, lu:l' ('a physically handicapped person') Luli, kanɨ (< kan-'ear', someone with abnormal ears) Kana, kob ('a hench backed person') Kobu etc.

We have seen that a large number of nicknames are related to the occupation, profession, locality of residence, various incidents and physical characteristics of the person involved. Most of these nicknames are common among Hindus and Muslims.

5.5. Muslim surnames

Besides the above types of nicknames, a large number of surnames of Muslims are borrowed from Persian and Arabic languages, and are related with certain religious sects of Muslims. Most of these are common among non-Kashmiri Muslims living outside the valley and in other countries as well. The most common surnames of this kind are listed below:

> aša:yi (Ashayi), alvi: (Alvi), kə:diri: (Qadiri), kure:ši (Qureshi), cisti: (Chisti), nəhvi: (Nahvi), nakašbandi: (Naqashbandi), pi:rza:dɨ (Peerzada), naka:š (Naqash), mi:r (Mir), makdu:mi: (Maqdoomi), masu:di: (Masoodi), yahya: (Yahya), rA:thɨr (Rathar), ša:h (Shah), še:da: (Sheda), šehda:d (Shahdad), Sohra:vardi: (Soharavardi), pare (Parey), ṭa:kh (Tak), ḍa:r (ḍar), zahgi:r (Zahgir), ra:val (Raval), zə:di: (Zaidi), nakvi (Naqvi) etc.

5.6. Phonological changes

A large number of Kashmiri surnames and nicknames have undergone some phonological changes in their forms in other languages. These terms are generally Hindi-Urduized or Anglicized in their written form and also in pronunciation by the non-natives. There are some regular rules for this shift from original spoken to written form. Some of these rules are indicated below:

(i) In case the consonant ending surnames/nicknames are preceded by back vowels, the suffix /u:/ is added to them in their written form.

Kashmiri	Hindi-Urdu	English
bos	bosu:	Bosu
khoš	khošu:	Khoshu
gu:r	gu:ru:	Guru
khoc	khocu:	Khocu
kol	kolu:	Kolu
muj	muju:	Muju

In the disyllabic terms, the second vowel is elided after the suffix is added.

Kashmiri	Hindi-Urdu	English
manuṭ	manṭu:	Mantu
ko:tur	ko:tru:	Kotru
thapul	thaplu:	Thaplu
kunzur	kunzru:	Kunzru
va:tul	va:tlu:	Vatlu
kɔkur	kokru:	Kokru
nohor	nehru:	Nehru

(ii) The final vowel /ɨ/ changes into /a:/

Kashmiri	Hindi-Urdu	English
va:zɨ	va:za:	Vaza
animɨ	anima:	Anima
ḍagɨ	ḍaga:	Daga
ra:jɨ	ra:ja:	Raja
bacɨ	baca:	Baca
šo:rɨ	šo:ra:	Shora

(iii) In case the terms end in palatalized consonants, the suffix /i:/ is added to them and the preceding vowels are lowered in height. The palatalization is dropped.

Kashmiri	Hindi-Urdu	English
darbə:r'	darba:ri:	Darbari
nagə:r'	naga:ri:	Nagari
bə:l'	ba:li:	Bali
bu:n'	bo:ni:	Boni
ju:g'	jo:gi:	Jogi
durə:n'	dura:ni:	Durani
jalə:l'	jala:li:	Jalali
hazə:r'	haza:ri:	Hazari
so:pu:r'	so:po:ri:	Sopori
dastə:r'	dasta:ri:	Dastari
panjə:b'	panja:bi:	Punjabi
marə:z'	mara:zi	Marazi

(iv) The consonant ending terms which are preceded by low central vowels /a/ or /a:/ do not change in their written form. Examples:

paḍar, cakbast, sas, ja:nvar, cak, kilam, jad, kra:l, baza:z, ba:da:m, dra:l, ha:kh, di:va:n, guzarva:n, ka:r, ma:m, na:th, etc.

(v) The dental affricates /ts/ and /tsh/ change into affricaters /c/ and /ch/ respectively.

tsol	colu:	Chola
ka:tsur	ka:cru:	Kachru
tritshɨl	trichal	Trisal
tsengul	cenglu:	Cenglu

6. Conclusion

To sum up, the study of personal names in Kashmiri from linguistic point of view, though an interesting subject, poses various problems. The personal names are closely related to the socio-cultural structure of the

people. It is therefore essential to understand the socio-culture milieu of the people comprising different strata across religious and ethnic identities. Throughout its history, Kashmir has undergone various social, cultural and political changes and upheavals influencing the socio-culture patterns and ethos of the people in various contact situations. Nevertheless, it is possible to point out salient characteristics of the personal names of Kashmiri keeping in view various influences their structure has undergone.

As explained above, the oldest, forms of personal names of Hindus can be traced from the written texts which do not provide the authenticity of their exact use in spoken form. The available references of personal names in the Sanskrit texts composed in and on Kashmir, however, do help us to determine that most of the old Kashmiri personal names were closely related to their Sanskritic origin. The structure of two-word personal names in Hindus seems to be a later development during the medieval period. There are both indigenous and borrowed fixed second name terms used for male and female names. These names frequently appear in the religious texts of Hindus written during the contemporary period. The personal names of Muslims though largely borrowed from Perso-Arabic, are nativized and have undergone various structural changes. There are significant differences in their spoken and written forms.

The study of surnames and nicknames is an important subject from sociolinguistic point of view. Besides some genuine surnames associated with Hindus and Muslims, a large number of surnames and nicknames have developed by the local influences and common socio-cultural pattern characterizing the Kashmiri society. This is referred to as Kashmiriat. It is here that the well-defined religious boundaries do not have a role in the demarcation or distribution of these terms. A large number of these nicknames or so-called surnames are common among Hindus and Muslims. The phenomenon seems to be quite productive and has potentiality of further development. There is a common belief that Kashmiris are very rich in the coinage of names and nicknames, and perhaps it is this strong texture with which the Kashmiriat is woven.

As far as possible, certain linguistic rules, which account for various changes in the coinage and derivation of the Kashmiri personal names including surnames and nicknames, have been indicated in non-technical terms. Rules for Hindi-Urduization and Englishization of Kashmiri names have been mentioned. There is a scope for working out exhaustive set of such rules in a future study.

Kinship Terms

Introduction

The Kinship terms in language are understood and used in a particular cultural context. In the study of Kinship terms it is, therefore, important to keep in view the cultural or sociological patterns of a given society in which these terms are used. In this section, we will classify the kinship terms in Kashmiri in two broad categories: (1) consanguineal and (2) affinal. The dimensions of (i) generation (ii) lineal (direct ancestors and direct descends) vs. collateral (kinsmen descended from one's own ancestors i.e., uncles, brothers, nephews etc.) and (iii) sex are important in the current study. While presenting the description of kinship terms, modes of address, which are closely related with the kinship terms, have also been given.

1. Consanguineal kinship terms

The consanguineal kinship terms may be classified as closest blood relations, and distant blood relations. In the distant blood relations, various types of categories are possible.

Closest blood relations

mo:l	F (father)	mə:j	M (mother)
bo:y	B (brother)	beni	Si (sister)
necuv	So (son)	ku:r	D (daughter)

Distant blood relations

The following kinship terms are used for distant kinsmen:

bud?ibab	FF, MF	(grand father)
na:n'	FM, MM	(grand mother)
ma:s	Msi	(mother's sister)
pɔph	Fsi	(father's sister)
ma:m	MB	(mother's brother)
petɨr	FB	(father's brother)
benthɨr	SiSo	(sister's son)
benzɨ	SiD	(sister's daughter)

ba:pəthɨr	Bso	(brother's son)
ba:vɨzɨ	BD	(brother's daughter's)

Compound kinship terms

There are two types of kinship terms: simple and compound. The compound kinship terms are formed by adding modifiers and/or affixes to the base or simple terms. For example, suffixes *baḍɨ* or *jadɨ* are added to *buḍ'bab* and *na:n'* to denote the kinship terms which are more remote in genealogical distance:

baḍɨ buḍ'bab	FFF, FMF, MFF, MMF
badɨna:n'	FFM, FMM, MFM, MMM
jadɨ buḍ'bab	FFF, FMF, MFF, MMF

Similarly, certain modifiers in compound constructions are used to denote another type of genealogical relationship.

petrɨ buḍ'bab	FFB, MFB
petrɨ na:n'	FFBW, MFBW

The modifiers *pitur* (m) and *pitɨr* (f) are used to denote first cousin relationship as in the following examples:

pitur bo:y	FBSo	pitur ma:m	MFBSo
pitur petɨr	FFBSo	pitɨr beni	FBD
pitɨr ma:s	MFBD	pitɨr pɔph	FFBD

The suffixes *-tur* (m) and *-tɨr* (f) are added to certain kinship terms which change them into modifiers. These modifiers are used to specify remote genealogical relationship, as in the following examples:

mamɨtur bo:y	MBSo	ma:sɨtur bo:y	MsiSo
pɔphɨtur bo:y	FsiSo	ma:mɨtɨr beni	MbD
ma:sɨtɨr beni	MsiD	ma:sɨtur ma:m	MMSiSo
ma:sɨtɨr ma:s	MMSiD	pɔphɨtur ma:m	MFSiSo
pɔphɨtɨr pɔph	FMBD	pɔphɨtɨr beni	FsiD
ma:mɨtur ma:m	MMBSo	ma:mɨtɨr ma:s	MMBD

The modifiers *pitur* (m) and *pitɨr* (f) can also be used with these terms to denote further remote genealogical relationship, as in the following examples:

pitur ma:mɨtur bo:y	MFBSoSo
pitur ma:sɨtur bo:y	MFBDSo

pitur pɔphitur bo:y	FFBDSo
pitɨr ma:mɨtir beni	MFBSoD
pitɨr ma:sɨtɨr beni	MFBDD
pitɨr pɔphɨtɨr beni	FFBDD

The modifier *vo:rɨ* step' is used with some genealogical kinship terms to mark remote genealogical relationship as in the following examples:

vo:rɨ mo:l	step F
vo:rɨ mə:j	step M
vo:rɨ bo:y	step B
vo:rɨ beni	step Si
vo:rɨ necuv	step So
vo:rɨ ku:r	step D

The modifier *vo:rɨ* may be used with distant relatives also:

vo:rɨ petɨr	F step B
vo:rɨ pɔph	F step Si
vo:rɨ na:n'	F step M, M step M
vo:rɨ ma:m	M step B
vo:rɨ buḍ'bab	F step F, M step F

Certain kinship terms are formed with the help of the genitive markers of *sund* and *hund*, as in the following examples:

neciv'sund necuv	SoSo
neciv'sɨndis neciv' sund necuv	SoSoSo
mə:l'sund mo:l	FF
mə:l'sɨndis mə:l' sund mo:l	FFF
ko:rihɨnz ku:r	DD
ko:rihɨnzi ko:ri hɨnz ku:r	DDD

2. Affinal kinship terms

Affinal kinship terms are those which represents the kinship relations as a result of marriage. Affinal kinship terms may also be classified in different sub-categories. There is more than one kinship term used for some kinsmen. Following are the affinal kinship terms:

'Husband' and 'wife' are closest affinal kinsmen. Following are the kinship terms used to mark this relationship:

kha:vand/ru:n/bartha:/khã:da:r	H (husband)
zana:n/kɔlay/trɨy/khã:da:ren'	W (Wife)

The terms *ru:n* and *zana:n* are very common kinship terms used by all the communities of Kashmir. *bartha:* and *trɨy* are mostly used by Kashmiri Hindus. The terms *khã:da:r* and *khã:da:ren'* denote the ownership of household. The man who is the head of the family is called *khã:da:r* and the woman who is the head of the family is called *khã:da:ren'*. These terms are generally understood in the terms of in the sense of 'husband' and 'wife' respectively.

Following are other kinship terms associated with the affinal category:

druy	HB	drɨyka:kan'	HBW
h'ohar	HF, WF	haš	HM, Wm
d'a:rthɨr	HBSo	za:m	Hsi
zə:miyi	HsiH	be:mɨ	SiH
həhar	WB	hohvɨr'ba:y	WBW
sa:l	Wsi	sə:juv	WsiH
zə:m'thɨr	HsiSon	zə:mizɨ	HsiD
za:mɨtur	DH	benɨzɨza:mtur	SiDH
nɔš	SoW	pɔphuv	FsiH
ma:suv	MsiH		

The prefixes *baḍɨ* can be added to *h'ohar* and *haš* to denote a distant relationship:

baḍɨh'ohar	HFF, WFF, HMF, WMF
baḍɨhaš	HMM, WMM, HFM, WFM

The modifiers *pitur* (m), *pitɨr* (f) and *vo:rɨ* 'step' are added to the kinship terms for indicating distinct relationship, e.g.,

pitur druy	HFBSo
pitur/petɨr h'ohar	HFB, WFB
pitɨr/petri haš	HFBW, WFBW
pitɨr za:m	HFBD
pitur be:mɨ	FBHD
pitur baḍɨh'ohar	HFFB, WFFBW
pitɨr baḍɨhaš	HMFBW, WMFBW
vo:rɨ druy	H step B
vo:rɨ be:mɨ	step SiH
vo:rɨ haš	H step M, W step M

Similarly, the modifiers of the kinship terms like *pɔphɨtur* (m), *pɔphɨtɨr* (f), *ma:mɨtur* (m), *ma:mɨtɨr* (f) may be added to the affinal kinship terms to denote distant relationship, e.g.,

pɔphɨtur druy	HFSiSo
pɔphɨtɨr drɨyka:kan'	HFSiSoW
pɔphɨtur be:mɨ	FsiDH
pɔphɨtɨr bəyka:kan'	FsiSoW
ma:mɨtur həhar	WMBSo
ma:mɨtɨr sa:l	WMBD
ma:mɨtur sə:juv	WMBDH
ma:mɨtur zə:miyi	HMBDH
ma:sɨtur druy	HMSiSi

The kinship terms *ma:m, pɔph,* and *ma:s* are added as modifiers to the affinal kinship terms of *h'ohar* 'father-in-law' and *haš* 'mother-in-law', to mark the distant relationship. The vowel *-ɨ* is a suffix to the kinship terms for making them modifiers, as in the following examples:

pɔphɨ h'ohar	HFSiH, WFSiH
pɔphɨ haš	HFSi, WFSi
ma:mɨ h'ohar	HMB, WMB
ma:mɨ haš	HMBW, WMBW
petrɨ h'ohar	HFB, WFB
petrɨ haš	HFBW, WFBW
ma:sɨ h'ohar	HMSiH, WMSiH
ma:sɨ haš	HMSi, WSMi

There are a few common affinal kinship terms used to mark the relationship between the parental families of the wife and husband.

son'	DHF, SoWF
sɔn'an	DHM, SoWM
son'gobur	DhyB, SoWyB
son'ku:r	DhySi, SoWySi

The term *son'* is also used for the 'in-laws' of the son or daughter. Even sister's or brother's in-laws are termed as *son'*. The term indicates the relationship between the two families, whose off springs have entered into wedlock. The phrase *sɔn'u ṭh* is used for entering into this relationship by two families, by performing a wedlock of their offspring in each other's family.

The modifier *mangɨtɨ* 'adopted' is used with a restricted number of kinship terms to denote a close relationship. For instance,

mangɨtɨ necuv	adopted So
mangɨtɨ ku:r	adopted D

The modifier *mangɨtɨ* is used only with *necuv* 'son' and *ku:r* 'daughter'. Though indicating very close relationship, it cannot be placed under the category of blood relationship.

The modifiers *anɨhu:r* 'unmarried' (m.s.), *anɨhɨ:r'* (m.p.), *anɨhəriš* (F.s.), *anɨhəriši* (f..p.) are used with certain kinship terms to indicate the marital status, e.g.,

anɨhu:r necuv/ləḍkɨ	unmarried son/boy
anɨhɨ:r' neciv'/laḍkɨ	unmarried sons/boys
anɨhəriš ku:r	unmarried daughter/girl
anɨhəriši ko:ri	unmarried daughters/girls

The modifiers of *ne:trɨgra:kh* (m.s.), *ne:trɨgra:kan'* (f.s.), *hər'šo:mut* (m.s.), *hər'šə:mɨts*, (f.s.) and *hər'šə:matsɨ* (f.p.) are used with kinship terms to indicate marital status. e.g.,

ne:trɨgra:kh necuv	married son
ne:trɨgra:kan' ku:r	married daughter
hər'šo:mut necuv	married son
hər'šə:mɨt' neciv'	married sons
hər'šə:mɨts ku:r	married daughter
hər'šə:matsɨ ko:ri	married daughters

These modifiers may also be used independently to denote the marital status of a person in context. Certain terms are used to denote that a man or a woman is married and has children also. They may be used both independently as well as modifiers. For example:

šur'vo:l/šur'mur'vo:l	The man having children
šur'va:jen'/šur'mur'vajen'	The woman having children

There are several terms related with the marital status of a person, which denote an important relationship with particular families. e.g.,

ho:hvur	man's in-laws, wife's parents' home
və:r'uv	husband's home, woman's in-laws
ma:l'un	woman's parents' home

The modifier *baḍɨ* is added to *ho:hvur* and *və:r'uv* to denote a distant relationship in a family, e.g.,

baḍɨ ho:hvur	wife's mother's parents' home
baḍɨ və:r'uv	husband's mother's parents' home

3. Kinship Terms and Modes of Address

The modes of addresses in Kashmiri are closely related with kinship terms. Different types of modes of addresses are used among kinsmen. We will here indicate only a few modes of address, which show the relationship with the kinship terms.

(i) Certain honorific suffixes are added to kinship terms in order to form modes of addresses. The resulting modes of addresses undergo certain phonological changes also, e.g.,

bo:y + ṭo: ṭh	>	bə:yṭo: ṭo:ṭh
bo:y + sə:b	>	bə:y sə:b
bo:y + ji:	>	bə:yji
bo:y + la:l	>	bə:yla:l
bo:y + ja:n	>	bə:yja:n
bo:y + ra:j	>	bə:yra:j
bo:y + ga:š	>	bə:yga:šɨ
bo:y + jigur	>	bə:yjigur

In the examples given above, different honorific suffixes are added to the kinship term *bo:y* 'brother' while changing it into a mode of address. The modes of address formed are used not only for an elder brother out may be used for cousin, uncles and other elder males or for the person, for whom respect is intended. Sometimes, when an adult addresses his elder brother or relation with a particular mode, his children use the same mode of addresses for the same person. Therefore, we find persons using these terms for distinct relatives as well.

Similarly, the following honorific suffixes may be added to *beni* 'sister' while forming modes of addresses:

beni + ṭə: ṭh	>	beniṭə:ṭh
beni + gə:š	>	benigə:š
beni + d'ad	>	benid'ad
beni + jigɨr	>	benijigɨr
beni + ji:	>	ben'ji:

These modes of addresses may be used not only for elder sister but for other relations of cousins etc., as well for indicating affection or respect.

The following honorific suffixes are added to *ma:m* MB and *ma:man'* MBW for changing them into modes of addresses:

ma:m	+ ṭo:ṭh	>	ma:mɨ ṭo: ṭh
ma:man'	+ jigɨr	>	ma:man'jigɨr
ma:m	+ ji:	>	ma:ma:ji

These modes of address are used for distant kinsman on the mother's side, besides the MB and MBW.

There are various modes of addresses used independently for elder and younger kinsman. It is not possible to formulate definite rules in their use. Each term may be used for more than one's kinsman depending on the acquired habit of the speaker. Some of these terms are given below:

bab	F, FF, eB	ga:šɨ	F, FB, B
la:lɨ (sə:b)	F, FF, eB	ṭo:ṭh	F, Fb, eB
ṭa:ṭhi (sə:b)	F, FB, eB	bo:bji	F, EB, eB
ka:kh	P, FB, eB	ka:kan'	M, FBW
mə:j	M	ba:bi	eBW, M
d'ad	M, MM, FM	di:di:	eSi
ṭə:ṭh/ṭə:ṭhi:	Si, BW, D		
jigɨr	eSi, Fsi, Msi, M		

As indicated above, the modes of addresses are used in a liberal sense. Modes of addresses do not differentiate the distinctions among the real and the cousin, blood relation and affinal etc. Some modes of addresses may be used not only in distant relations but also for showing respect and affection to a person, who is not a kinsman. For instance, friend's wife may be called *ba:bi:* a friend's sister may be called *beni gə:š, jigɨr* etc.

Modes of Address

1. Introduction

In general, modes of address in Kashmiri are correlated with the social status and interpersonal relationships between the addressee and addresser. Modes of address consist of different types of interjections, first names, diminutive first names, surnames, kinship terms, professional terms, second person pronouns, etc. Here we will briefly discuss the usage of these modes of address from sociolinguistic point of view.

A proper understanding of the socio-cultural patterns of the society and people who use these modes of address is important. The native speakers of Kashmiri belong to two main religious communities of Hindus and Muslims. The latter community is in majority. There are some variations on the phonological, morphological and lexical levels between the speech of these two communities, which are important from a sociolinguistic point of view. There is no caste system prevalent among either of the two communities. There are of course certain professional groups among each community. Hindus (all Brahmins) are divided into two groups: priests and non-priests. The priests (who are in the minority) perform all the rites and rituals and act as priests in Hindu temples and places of worship. On the basis of certain professions, some minority groups of lower social status among Hindus are those of Buhuris and persons engaged in odd jobs: cooks, bakers, etc. The majority of Hindus consider such persons lower in status and do not normally enter into inter group marriages. Those who neither belongs to the priest group nor to the lower professional groups of odd jobs enjoy higher status among the Hindus. The modes of address used for the priest group are always honorific and they are different from those used for the lower professional groups. Muslims are also divided on the basis of professional groups. Social status is generally determined by economic, educational and professional factors. Among Muslims, pirs (the group of priests), which are in minority, perform rites and rituals for all Muslims and are respected at social and religious ceremonies. The community is divided into different professional groups: agriculturists, businessmen, employees, labourers, etc. The professions of butcher, carpenter, barber, goldsmith, mason and cobbler are hereditary. Only a very low percentage of people not belonging to hereditary

professional families take up these jobs. Both the financial prospects and social status of goldsmith and blacksmith occasionally attract some persons to take up one of the above professions even though it is not traditionally in their family.

In modern society, current economic position, nature of profession, age, sex, education, etc., play an important role in determining social status. With the spread of education and the tremendous change in the standard of living, old superstitions and values are fast changing. The traditional values are becoming less important day by day under the influence of modernization. It is easy to find people who belong to the lower class by family background and profession but have attained higher social status, shattering the barriers of old values and ideas.

It is important to keep in view the social structure of the native speakers of Kashmiri of both communities, Hindus and Muslims, divided into different classes on the basis of their family background and professions. Modes of address are correlated with the social structure of the people who interact: The inter-relationships, familial or kinship relations and considerations of social status must be taken into account while studying the subject.

2. Types of Modes of Address

Modes of address include interjections, first names, diminutive first names, surnames, terms associated with professions, kinship terms and second person pronouns of address. Here we will describe main types of forms of address.

2.1. Interjections of Address

Roughly corresponding to the English interjection 'Hey' or the Hindi-Urdu *is* different types of interjections are used in Kashmiri to attract attention. These can broadly be classified into two types: non-honorific and honorific or polite. They agree with addressee in number, gender and status.

2.1.1. Non-honorific

	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
a)	haya:	hayo:	haye:	haye:
b)	hə:v	hə:v	ḥə:y	hə:y
c)	hata:	hato:	hatay	hatay

d)	hatav	hatav	hatay	hatay
e)	tala:	tala:	talay	talay
f)	talav	talav	talay	talay
g)	hatiba:	hatiba:	hatibi:	hatibi:
h)	taliba:	taliba:	talibi:	talibi:

Note that (a), (c) and (e) are used mostly by the native speakers of Kashmiri, who belong to Srinagar and Baramulla Districts. The forms of (b), (d) and (f) are used by the native speakers of Kashmiri who belong to the Districts of Anantnag and Pulwama. The forms of (g) and (h) are used by all the speakers. Besides being a form of address, (g) is also used in the meaning of 'take' as well. These terms may optionally be followed by the diminutive first names of the address. e.g.,

haya:/ hayo:/ hə:v mohna:	'Hey, Mohan'
hata:/ hə:y/ hatav/ rahma:na:	'Hey, Rahman'
haya:/ hə:y/ hatay ši:lay	'Hey Shiela'

The honorific or polite forms of interjections of address are used in formal relationships and for showing respect for the addressee. The singular and plural forms of honorific or polite forms are same:

he:	talihaz
hasə:	hatima:hra:
hatlsə:	talima:hra:
talisə:	hatijina:b
hatihaz	talijina:b

These interjections may optionally be followed by first names, last names or professional titles of the addressee with honorific terms like *ji:* or *sə:b*, e.g.

he:/ hasə:/hatisə: mohan ji:	'Hey Mr. Mohan'
he:/ hatihaz/ talihaz ḍa:r sə:b	'Hey' Mr. Dar'
he:/ hatima:hra:/ talima:hra: rə:na: sə:b	'Hey', Mr. Raina'

It is to be noted that *hasə:/ hatisə:* and *talisə:* are used in informal relationship as well. They are used while addressing spouses, youngsters and juniors as well for showing affection and intimacy. *hatihaz* or *haz* is used for addressing Muslims and *hatima:hra: or ma:hra:* for addressing Hindus. *hati jina:b* or *jina:b* may be used for addressing Hindus as well as Muslims. Honorific terms like *ji:* or *sə:b* are also added to full names, first names or first plus middle names of persons. *ji:* is mostly used with

Hindu names and *sə:b* with Muslim names, e.g.,

he: mohan ji:	'Mr. Mohan'
rame:š kuma:r ji:	'Mr. Ramesh Kumar'
mohan la:l ji:	'Mr. Mohan Lal'
mohan la:l ganju: ji:	'Mr. Mohan Lal Ganju'
rəhma:n sə:b	'Mr. Rahman'
rəhma:n ḍa:r sə:b	'Mr. Rahman Dar'

Whereas ji: is always used with the professional title *ma:sṭar* teacher', *sə:b* is used with the professional titles or surnames of both communities. e. g.

ma:sṭar ji:	'Teacher'
ḍa:kṭar sə:b	'Doctor'
vəki:l sə:b	'lawyer'
ra:zda:n sə:b	'Mr. Razdan (a Hindu surname)
lo:n sə:b	'Mr. lone (a Muslim surname)

The terms *ji:* and *sə:b* are used by elders with the first names or kinship terms of youngsters as well for showing affection. The term *sə:b* also is added to the imperative forms of verbs as well. e.g.,

(a) karsə: panɨn' kə:m
do-hon own work'
' Please do your work.'

(b) me disə: kita:b
to-me give-hon (the) book
'Please give me the book.'

The 'terms *haz* 'sir' and *ma:hra:* 'sir' are used for addressing Muslims and Hindus respectively. The term *jina:b* 'sir' is used for addressing both Hindus and Muslims. These terms normally follow the subject noun or pronoun e.g.,

(c) bɨ haz/ma:hra:/jina:b gatshɨ garɨ
I hon. go-fut home
'Sir, I will go home.'

They may also be used with the imperative forms of verbs. e.g.

(d) gətshiv haz garɨ
go-HON sir home
'Please go home.'

(e) diyiv haz/ma:hra:/jina:b kita:b
give-Hon sir book
'Please give the book'

The choice in the use of modes of address necessarily depends on various types of inter-personal relationships among the people. The context of situation and various emotional factors play a prominent role in the choice of modes of address. The topic or subject of discourse, particular occasion, age, sex, social status and dyadic relationships of the participants are important factors, which determine their use. Thus, modes of address cannot be studied in isolation.

2.2. Kinship Terms of Address

A number of terms of address are formed from kinship terms by adding some honorific terms. The vocative case suffix *–a:* for masculine singular, -ɨ for feminine singular and *–av* for plural are added to these compound terms when used as modes of address. In the examples given below, different honorific terms are added as case suffixes to the kinship term *bo:y* 'brother' changing it into a term of address. e.g.,

bo:y + ṭo:ṭh = bə:yṭo:ṭh +a:= bə:y ṭa:ṭhya:
bo:y + sə:b = bə:ysə:b + a: = bə:ysə:ba:
bo:y + ji: = bə:yji: + a: = bə:yjiya:
bo:y + la:l = bə:yla:l + a: = bə:yla:la:
bo:y + ja:n = bə:yja:n + a: = bə:yja:na:
bo:y + ra:j = bə:yra:ji + a: = bə:yra:ja:
bo:y + ga:š = bə:yga:š + a: = bə:yga:ša:
bo:y + jigur = bə:yjigur+ a: = bə:yjigra:

Note that whereas all the basic honorific terms added to the kinship term 'bo:y' above stand for the meaning 'dear' or 'dear one', some of them have different literal meanings. They are: *la:l* 'ruby' *ja:n* 'good', *ra:jɨ* 'king', *ga:š* 'light', *jigar* 'heart'. The terms *ji:* and *sə:b (sa:hib)* are from Hindi- Urdu.

These terms of address are used not only for an elder brother, but may be used for cousins, uncles or other elder males for whom respect is intended. Similarly, a number of honorific terms and vocative case suffix *-i:* are added to *beni* 'sister' while forming terms of address. e.g.,

beni + ṭə:ṭh = beniṭə:ṭh+ i: = beniṭə:ṭhi:
beni + gə:š = benigə:š + i: =benigə:š
beni + dyed = benidyed + i: =benidyedi:
beni + jigɨr = benijigɨr + i: = benijigri:
beni + ji: = beniji: + i: = beniji:

These terms are not used only for elder sister but for other relations of cousins, aunts, or elderly women for whom respect in intended.

Similarly, a number of terms of address are used independently for elder kinsmen, distant relations and persons for whom respect or affection is intended. Terms of address used for male addressees like *bab, la:lɨ (sə:b), ṭa:ṭhi (sə:b), ka:kh, ga:šɨ, ṭo:ṭh, bo:bji:* may be used for father, grandfather, uncle, elder brother, elder cousin or for any person for whom respect or affection is intended. Similarly, some terms of address used for females like *ded, jigɨr, ba:bi:, ṭə:ṭhi:, ka:kany, di:di:*, etc., may be used for elder kinsmen or distant relations, or for persons for whom respect or affection is intended. These terms of address are used in a liberal sense. These terms are used not only for kinsmen or distant relations, but also for unrelated persons to show respect or affection.

2.3. Second Person Pronouns of Address

There are two main types of second pronouns of address: singular and plural. Singular honorific and plural (both honorific as well as non-honorific) forms are the same, e.g.,

Case	Singular Non-honorific	Plural Honorific	
Nominative	tsɨ	toh'	'you'
Dative	tse	təhi	

In the possessive case, there is gender and number concord with the head of the nominal group or object, e.g.,

Subject Person	Object Masculine		Feminine	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
2nd sg Non-hon.	co:n	cə:n'	cə:n'	ca:ni
2nd pl./hon. sg.	tuhund	tuhɨnd'	tuhɨnz	tuhɨnzɨ

Examples:

co:n kalam	'your pen'
cə:n' kalam	'your pens'
cə:n' gər	'your watch'
ca:ni gari	'your watches'
tuhund me:z	'your table'
tuhɨnd' me:z	'your tables'
tuhɨnz kursi:	'your chair'
tuhɨnz kursiyi	'your chairs'

The non-honorific singular forms of pronouns are generally used in informal situations to address very close friends, youngsters, spouses and people of lower social status. Sometimes these forms of address are used for addressing elders as well as those for whom respect is intended, particularly female members of one's family i.e. mother, sister, etc. in informal situations. The honorific forms of address are used for addressing close friends, youngsters and spouses as well in formal situations or for showing extra love, affection or being sarcastic in certain situations.

The usage of modes of address should therefore, be studied keeping in view the contextual situation and dyadic relations between the addresser and addressee.

3. Dyadic Relations

There are three main dyadic relations: (a) social, (b) professional and (c) Familial.

3.1. Social Dyadic Relations

Social dyadic relations are the result of the meeting between two strangers or friends. Individuals in a given society play different types of roles when they come in contact with each other. The socio-cultural, economic and religious patterns of a society bring individuals and families close to each other. These contacts result in free interaction and the development of interpersonal relationships between individuals. The interpersonal relationships between teacher-student, master-servant, friends, and strangers, etc., determine the usage of modes of address under this category, e.g.,

Teacher – Student

1. tsɨ kar yi kə:m
   you do this work
   'Do this work.'

2. yi kə:m kar
   'Do this work.'

Student – Teacher

3. bɨ ma:hra: karɨ yi kə:m
   I hon do-will this work
   I will do this work'

Master – Servant:

4. (hayo:) rəhma:na: ba:zrɨ an dəd
(hey) Rahman market-abl bring milk
'Rahman, bring milk from the market.'

Servant-Master:

5. me diyiv haz (toh') pə̃:sɨ
I-dat give (hon) (you) money
'Please give me money.'

In the examples given above, a teacher uses non-honorific second person pronouns of address for his student and receives honorific term of address in return. In some situations, the teacher as well as master may use honorific terms/pronouns of address for a student and a servant respectively to show affection or appreciation e.g.,

Teacher - Student :

6. behsə: pathar
sit-polite down
'Please sit down.'

7. kə:m kəriv
work do-(hon)
'Please do your work.'

Master - Servant :

8. palav tshunsə: nəv'
clothes put on (hon) new
'Please put on (your) new clothes.'

The teacher as well as the master while in anger may use the same honorific forms of address for addressing a student or servant respectively. Here the usage of such forms is sarcastic and reflects the anger of the addresser. e.g.,

9. toh' kəriv panɨn' kə:m
You (Hon) do-Hon your-own work
'Please do your own work.'

10. toh' mɨ hechɨnə:viv me
you-Hon don't teach-Caus to-me
'Please do not teach me.'

The usage of modes of address amongst friends varies according to age, sex and context. Normally intimate friends (of either sex) address each other with non-honorific terms of address, but on certain formal occasions in the presence of others they may use honorific forms. Friends when young normally use non-honorific forms of address and switch over to formal ones as they grow older. Strangers of an equal social status normally use honorific forms of address in addressing each other. The addresser may use non-honorific forms of address as well, if he or she is aware that he/she will receive honorific forms of address in return.

3.2 Professional dyadic relations

Professional dyadic relations develop in different ways. Interaction between people belonging to same or different professions is very common. Sometimes, professional and social dyadic relations are merged together. Under the category of professional dyadic relations, we may study the interactions, which take place between official and a non-official, a shopkeeper and a customer, a doctor and a patient, the contractor and a laborer, etc.

Two officials who belong to the same rank or status address each other by first plus second names or by surnames plus honorific terms like *ji:*, *sə:b*, e.g.,

sohan la:l ji:	'Mr. Sohan Lal'
rə:na:ji:	'Mr. Raina'
dar sə:b	'Mr. Dar'
šah sə:b	'Mr. Shah'
ayu:b pare: sə:b	'Mr. Ayub Parey'

The names may optionally be preceded by appropriate honorific interjections of address. The modes of address used among officials and non-officials in their conversations may be of different kinds, depending on social status or position of the participants. A non-official usually addresses an official with honorific modes of address. He may also receive formal or non-polite terms of address in return. e.g.,

Non-official

11. toh' kəriv haz/ma:hra: me peṭh meharbə:ni:
    you-Hon do-Hon me on kindness
    'Please favor me with your kindness.'

12. təhi jina:b k'a: gatshi
    to-you-Hon what want
    'What would you like to have?'

13. tɔhi k'a: haz/ma:hra: na:v
to-you-Hon what Hon name
'What is your name?'

Official - non-official

14. toh' mɨ bəriv parva:y, bɨ karɨ tuhɨnz kə:m
you do not feel worry I do-Fu your work
'Please don't worry, I will do your work.'

15. tsɨ mɨ kar me pare:ša:n
you-non-Hon don't do to-me perturb
'Don't perturb me.'

16. (toh') gətshiv tshə̃:ḍiv yinsa:ph
(you-Hon) go-Hon look for justice
'Please go (and) seek justice.'

A patient and a doctor, or a client and a lawyer, who are involved in conversations, may also use different types of modes of address. In the professional relationship, a patient and a client will always use honorific forms of address and will receive the type of terms of address in return depending on their social status, e.g.,

Patient - doctor:

17. ḍa:kṭar sə:b me (jina:b) chu kalas do:d
doctor-Hon to-me(Hon) is headache
'Doctor, I have a headache.'

18. toh' diytav haz/ma:hra: dava:
you give-Hon Hon to-me medicine
'Please give me medicine.'

19. bɨ kətsi laṭi haz/ma:hra: khemɨ dava: dɔhas
I how many times-Hon eat-fut medicine day-dat
'How many times a day should I take medicine?'

Doctor - patient :

20. yi rəṭiv dava:
this take-Hon medicine
'Please take this medicine.'

21. ba:zrɨ əniv dava:
market-Abl bring-Hon medicine
'Please bring medicine from the market.'

22. tse kh'o:tha: kã:h dava:
you-non-hon ate-you any medicine
'Have you taken any medicine?'

Client - lawyer :

23. (toh') li:khiv haz/ma:hra: darkha:s
(you-Hon) write Hon application
'Please write the application.'

24. bɨ jina:b dimo:vɨ sə:riy pɔ̃:sɨ
I hon will-give-you- whole money
'I will give you the whole amount of money.'

25. toh' kəriv haz/ma:hara: meharbə:ni:
you-Hon do-Hon kindness
'Please be kind.'

Lawyer - client:

26. toh' trə:viv yi kath me peṭh
you-Hon leave this matter me on
'Leave this matter for me.'

27. tsɨ di me tayə:ri: karnɨ
you-non-hon give me preparation do-Inf
'Let me prepare myself (for it)'

28. tse chuy pa:nɨ ada:lats manz hə:zir gatshun
you-Dat-non-hon have self court-Loc in attend go-Inf
'You will have to attend the court in person.'

3.3. Familial Ddyadic Relations

The term 'family' in Kashmiri society is used in a liberal sense. It actually represents a net-work of related families on both paternal and maternal sides. The use of modes of address in this category depends purely on the type of relationship and age of the participants. The dyadic relational sets of father-son, father - daughter, mother-son, mother-daughter, brother-brother, brother-sister, sister-sister and husband-wife are basic ones. The kinship relations on both the paternal and maternal sides are considered

at par. Also, in the forms of address, the distinction between true siblings and cousins is not maintained. Furthermore, father, father-in-law, paternal and maternal uncles are of the some status; mother, mother-in-law, maternal and paternal aunts are of the same status; elder brother, brother-in-law are of an equal category; elder sister or sister-in-law are of an equal category; son and son-in-law, daughter and daughter-in-law belong to the same kinship status. Here we will present examples of some of the above familial dyadic relations:

Father-Son

Normally, the father addresses his son by the first name or first plus middle name, or by diminutive first name or nick-name (known as family pet name as well). The father uses the non-honorific pronominal form to address him, e.g.,

29. mohna:/mohan la:la:/mohanjia: ba:zrɨ an sabzi:
Mohan/Mohan Lal/Mohanji market-AbI bring vegetables
Mohan, bring vegetables from the market'

30. tsɨ chukhna: bo:za:n?
you-non-hon are not listening
'Aren't you listening?'

In these examples, the father may use Mohan (first name), Mohan Lal (first plus middle name) or Mohan ji (diminutive first name or family pet name) for his son. The choice is determined by certain factors in certain situations. If his son is grown up and has attained higher social status or position, and while addressing him in the presence of others (his son's colleagues, friends, etc.), the father is likely to use polite forms of address. In certain situation, the use of honorific or polite forms of address may denote that father's anger, or of his being sarcastic, e.g.

31. toh' chiv bəḍ' məhniv bane:mit'
you-Hon have great man become
'You have become a great man.'

32. ahansə: ṭa:ṭh'a: mey hechɨna:v
yes-hon dear one, to-me teach-Caus
'Yes, dear, you will teach me.'

A son always addresses his father by the particular mode of address used for him in his family. The common modes of address are *ṭa:ṭh'a:ji:*, *bo:b ji:*, *la:lɨ sə:b*, *bab*, *ga:śɨ*, *ga:ša: ji: pa:pa: ji:*, *pita: ji:*, etc. In the

higher society, a son always uses honorific pronouns of address for addressing his father. e.g.

33. bo:bji: me diyiv (ma:hra:) pə̃:sɨ
    babuji me-Dat give-Hon money
    'Babuji, please give me money.'

As pointed out above, whereas a son-in-law has the same kinship status as the son in family. The relationship is of formal type in the beginning, and the use of reciprocal honorific modes of address including honorific pronominal forms is very common. In due course of time, the father-in-law may use informal modes of address for his son-in-law.

Father-Daughter

A father normally addresses his daughter by her first name, or diminutive first name or nickname (known as family pet name as well). He may add the suffix *ji:* with her first name after she is married or in the presence of others for showing deep affection, e.g.,

34. kã:tay tsɨ vo:n bəniya:n
    Kanta you knit pullover
    'Kanta you knit a pullover.'

35. kã:tɨ ṭə:ṭhi: me:n' kəmi:z an
    Kanta-dear mine shirt bring
    'Kanta, bring my shirt.'

36. babli: yi kita:b ni
    Babli this book take
    'Babli, take this book.'

In the above examples, the first name is used in sentence (33), *ṭə:ṭh* is added in sentence (34), and in sentence (35) *babli:* a nickname (family pet name) is used instead. The daughter, like the son, always uses a particular mode of address for him, which is common in her family and uses honorific pronominal forms, e.g.,

37. bo:bji: toh' kheyiv batɨ
    Babuji you-Hon eat meals
    'Babuji, please have your meals.'

The father-in-law addresses his daughter-in-law with the family pet name given to her by her in-laws (like *p'a:ri:*, *ṭə:ṭhi:*, *ra:ni:*, etc.) or by her first name with suffix *ji:*, etc. Very rarely, he would use honorific

pronominal form of address. The daughter-in-law in return always uses kinship terms of address or the particular family pet mode of address for him as used by her husband in addressing his father. She also uses honorific pronominal forms, e.g.,

38. p'a:ri:, ca:y bana:v
    pyari: tea prepare
    'Pyari, prepare tea.'

39. ra:ni: tsɨ chalun yi dəj
    Rani you-non-hon wash-Inf this handkerchief
    'Rani, wash this handkerchief.'

40. bo:bji: toh' kheyiv ma:hra: batɨ
    'Babuji you-Hon eat-Hon Hon meals
    'Babuji, please take your meals.'

41. la:lɨ sə:b bɨ gatshɨhə: ba:zar
    Lala saheb I will-go-Cond market
    'Lala Sa:b, I would like to go to market.'

In Some families, a daughter-in-law in the beginning does not talk with her fatker-in-law and only gradually starts conversation with him.

Mother-Son/daughter

Mother always uses first name or diminutive first name or the nickname (or family pet name) when addressing her son or daughter a son/daughter, e.g.,

42. ra:mji:/bo:ba: me k'uth ənizi ša:l
    Ramji/Babu, me-dat for bring shawl
    Ramji/Boba bring a shawl for me.'

43. ši:lay /ṭə:ṭhi: garic kəm kar
    Shiela/Tathi (dear one) home-gen work do
    'Shiela/Tathi do your household work.'

A son/daughter addresses his/her mother by the particular mode of address used for mother in the family like, *ka:kan' ba:bi: jigɨr, məmi:*, etc. A son/daughter normally uses familiar or non-honorific pronominal forms to address even in formal situations.

Brother-brother/sister

The elder brother usually addresses his young brother or sister by his or her first name or by the first name plus suffixes *ji:* or *sə:b* indicating affection or by the nick name or family pet name. These terms of address are same as used by the parents in the family to address youngsters. The elder brother also uses non-honorific pronominal forms of address. The younger brother or the sister always uses the honorific terms such as *bə:ysə:b, bə:y ṭo:th, ṭa:ṭhi*, etc. and honorific pronominal forms of address. In case, the age difference between the elder and younger brother is not much, they may address each other by their first names at the young age and use reciprocal non-honorific pronominal forms of address. As they grow up, the younger brother/sister switches to the honorific modes of address. The elder brother may also use honorific form of address in some formal situations. This kind of switchover may not occur in the families of lower social status. Examples are given below:

44. rəhma:na:/bo:ba: az chuya: ka:le:j gatshun?
    Rahman/Babu, today have-to college go-Inf
    'Rahman/Babu, do you have to go to college today?

45. ra:jay/sə:bay tsɨ kar a:ykah səku:lɨ
    Raj/Saba you-non-hon when came school-Abl
    'Raj/Saba, when did you come from school?

Sister-Sister/brother

Elder sister uses the same modes of address for her younger sister or brother as are used by other elder (including parents) in the family for her younger brother or sister. Normally any of the following terms of address: *beniji:, benigə:š, benijigɨr; ṭə:ṭhi:, di:di:*, etc. are used for addressing elder sister in a particular family. The younger sister or brother addresses the elder sister by honorific pronominal forms very rarely, or in formal situations only. Normally non-honorific pronominal forms of address are used. Some examples of the usage of these modes of address are given as under:

46. di:di: me ditɨ panɨn' gər
    Didi to-me give your watch
    'Didi, give me your watch.'

47. bo:ba: tse chaya: nəv dəj
    Boba you-dat have new handkerchief
    'Boba, do you have a new handkerchief?'

Husband-wife

There are no formal modes of address used by the husband for his wife or by the wife for her husband. In upper class society, couples belonging to younger generation address each other by their first names. Sometimes, a wife may not use the name of the husband directly. She may use his surname or other professional titles with honorific suffixes like *dar sə:b, ḍa:kṭar sə:b, vəki:l sə:b*, etc. Whereas a husband usually uses non-honorific pronominal forms of address addressing his wife, he may get some honorific terms of pronominal use in return.

To conclude, the use of modes of address is directly related to the socio-cultural patterns of a given society at a given time. As the society changes the linguistic behavior too undergoes a change. The use of language in society reflects the social and cultural structure of the people who use the language in communication. There are various types of modes of address prevalent in Kashmiri. They can be studied from different points of view. We have discussed main types of the modes of address as: interjections of address, kinship terms of address, and second person pronominal usage from the point of view of their actual use in the Kashmiri society. As illustrated above, the use of modes of address is determined by different dyadic relations: social, professional and familial.

Modes of Greetings

1. Introduction

Modes of greetings have an important place in the sociology of language. In every greeting situation, two persons come in contact in a particular ethnic situation, which is characterized by means of some paralinguistic features like gestures accompanied with certain statements.

2. Types of Greetings

There are two types of greetings in any language: verbal and non-verbal. Most of the time the greeting is incomplete without some kind of non-verbal behaviour implicit or explicit in the use of any mode of the greeting. It may be a nod, or a smile or a twinkle in the eye. Verbal greetings are not complete or effective in isolation unless they are accompanied with appropriate gestural expressions.

Non-verbal behaviour appears as an indispensable part of greeting that is often implied in the expression itself. For example, *namaste* 'I am bowing before you' denotes an activity of non–verbal behaviour. Often the responses of various greeting formulas are fixed and stereotyped and clearly laid down in the books of etiquette.

Greeting expressions are not necessarily communication of information. Greeting expressions in most of the languages including Kashmiri consist of a kind of medical diagnosis, an inquiry about one's health *as: va:ray chiva:*? 'How are you?' The literal meaning of a greeting in most cases is completely irrelevant.

Greetings are not merely usages of adherence to certain norms and rules laid down by etiquettes. They are more than this. They are a kind of social rituals in which you generally say what the other person expects you to say.

2.1. Gestural / Non -Verbal Greetings

Every culture has its own set of formalized greeting expressions and/or non-verbal greeting gestures like kissing, embracing, bowing, saluting with hand, hand shake, folding hands, prostration, touching feet etc.

2.2. Predictability of Response

Greetings in Kashmiri from the point of view of predictability fall within two broad categories: closed and open. The closed greetings are those which have only one fixed response, where the predictability is cent percent. On the other hand, the open greetings can have more than one response. They have limited predictability. Examples of both types are given below.

2.2.1. Closed (Maximum predictability)

Relationship	Greeting	Fixed Response
Status equals	namaska:r	namaska:r
	namaste	namaste
Hindu to Muslim	a:da:b(ariz)	a:da:b (ariz)
Muslim to Muslim	asla:m alaikum	va:laikum sala:m
Satus unequals	namaska:r	namaska:r
	ada:b (ariz)	ada:b (ariz)
	asla:m alaikum	valaikum sala:m

2.2.2. Open (Limited predictability)

Relationship	Greeting	Alternative Response
Status equals	va:ray chiva: ?	va:ray, toh' chiva: va:ray?
	'Are you fine?'	'Fine. How are you?'
	dor koṭh	
	'Be strong!'	
	ləsiv	
	'Live long!'	
	ḍ'aki boḍ	
	'Be lucky!'	
	potri ga:š	
	'May your sons live!' etc.	

Notice that the alternative responses are of two types: formal and non-formal. The expressions used for alternative greetings may inquire about general well-being of the addressee, indicate respect towards the addressee, indicate affection, good wishes or blessings from elders for younger ones. More examples are given below:

Greeter	
va:ray chiva: ?	'How are you?'
Greetee	
meharbə:ni:	'Due to your kindness, I'm fine
ca:ni daykhə:ri	'Due to your blessings (I'm fine).'

Unlike English, Japanese, Chinese, etc. the verbal greetings in Kashmiri like Hindi-Urdu are the same for different times of the day. There are no special phrases referring to morning, evening, etc.

Greeting phrases related to 'peace' are found in the Muslim greeting phrases :

salam alaikum 'Peace be with you.'
va:laikum sala:m 'And unto you be peace.'

Most frequent greetings are related to queries about one's health and well-being. The phrases such as the following are very frequently used:

va:ray chiva:? 'How are you?'
k'a:sə: va:ray chiva:? 'How are you?'
sə:ri: chiva: va:ray ? 'Are all O.K/alright?'
ṭhi:kh (pə:ṭh') chiva: ? 'Are you O.K?'

The replies of the greetings also refer to the greeter's health, happiness, well-being and longevity of life. The replies used by elders take the form of blessings:

a:dika:r (< adhika:r) 'Power?Authority!'
or zuv 'Healthy!'
dor koṭh 'Good health!'
sadbi:sa:l vumɨr 'One hundred twenty years of age.'
rumi rešun a:y 'As long life as that of a great Rishi!'
ḍekɨ boḍ 'Lucky!'
ləsiv 'May you live long!'
patrɨ ga:š 'Enjoy the pleasure of children!'
əch pu:r 'May your eyesight last for ever!'

3. Sociolinguistic Variables

The greetings are determined by certain sociolinguistic variables of time, space, participants, channel and the communicative intent.

Sometimes the same person may use different modes of greetings for different persons at different time. A beggar near a Muslim shrine uses the greetings appropriate of the name of the saint or shrine such as :

dasgi:r kərinay athiroṭ 'May Dasgir protect you !'
rešmo:l thəvinay va:rɨ 'May the Rishi keep you happy!'

The same beggar may use different set of terms near a Hindu shrine like:

mə:j bagvati: thəvinay va:rɨ Or
bagwati kərinay anɨgrah
'May Mother goddess protect you!'

Time also plays a role when two friends meet after a long time, the greetings of *namaste/namaska:r, a:da:b (arɨz)* are repeated as :

namaste namaste
namaskar namaskar
a:da:b a:da:b

A certain type of greeting may be appropriate at one place but different at another. A teacher is greeted by his students by standing up in the classroom, but outside the class he/she may be greeted by folded hands, with hand salute or with a verbal greeting of *namaska:r, a:da:b(arɨz)or sala:m a:laikum* .Participants are of two types: (a) where the greeter and the greetee are human-beings, (b) where the greeter is a human-being and the greetee a non-human: a deity, an animal or an inanimate object.

Greeting phrases of gods and goddesses are of different types. The phrases may be as follows:

jay šiv šankar	for Lord Shiva
he ra:m	for Lord Ram
he ra:dhe: šya:m	for Lord Krishna

Another mode of greeting is going around the idol of god or temple several times called *parikrama.*

Gender does play a role in the mode of greeting. The greetings between men and women are sometimes different from between the people of the same sex. Usually, women greet each other by the phrases '*vara:y chakhay/ chivay*?' and receive replies such as '*va:ray, tsɨ chakhay va:ray / toh' chiva: va:ray?'* etc. Educated women do use the terms of greetings used usually by men such as: *namaska:r /namaste, alsa:m a:laikum* etc.

Age of the participants has a significant role. Following are the examples of greetings used by the participants belonging to different age groups:

Young person to older person

Greeting	Response
namaska:r	zindɨ ru:ziv/ləsiv 'live long'
asla:m a:laikum	asla:m a:laiykum
	or zuv/dor koṭh/ḍ'akɨ boḍ

Same age group

namaste /namaska:r	namaste/namaskar
a:dab (ariz)	a:dab(ariz)
slala:m a:laikum	va:laikum sala:m

Elder to younger person

va:ra:y chukha:?	namaska:r
'How are you?'	
va:raya:?	toh'chiva: vara:y?
'Are you fine?'	'How are you?'

Young woman to elder woman

namaska:r	namaska:r
sala:m a:laikum	va:laikum sala:m
	bab lasun/ bo:y lasun/
	ḍekɨbəḍ
	va:ra:y chakhay?

Same age group

namaste/namaska:r	namaste/namaska:r
asla:m a:laykum	va:laikum sala:m
	bo:y lasun/bab lasun
va:ray chakhay?	a:hni: va:ray
va:raya:?	asla:m a:laikum
a:da:b (ariz)	a:da:b (ariz)

Usually the younger person greets the elders first. In certain situations, however, elders greet the younger by virtue of the latter's social position including wealth, education and status.

There is no cast hierarchy followed in the mode of greetings. It is customary to greet a Brahmin priest or a Muslim priest first irrespective of his age.

Education, occupation and social status play a prominent role in the greetings. A highly educated person prefers to be greeted with 'Good morning' or a handshake or *namaste* rather than a greeting phrase like *va:ray chiva:?*

3.1. Deferential Order of Greeting

The non-verbal greetings can be listed in the diminishing order of deference as follows: Prostration – bending on feet, touching feet –

touching knee – folding hands –shaking hands – raising hand-nod. Kashmiri Hindus usually prostrate or bend on feet, or touch feet only of saints. It is becoming common among the younger generation under the influence of other communities outside the valley to touch the feet of elders, especially at the time of their meetings after long period or at the time of departure on travel.

The greeting terms namaska:r / namaste etc. are accompanied by paralinguistic features of pause, stress, tone, volume and facial expression.

3.2. Relationship

Relationship is usually studied in terms of intimate versus non-intimate or formal versus informal depending on the social distance between the participants and the duration and frequency of contact. Intimacy may be of two types: symmetrical and asymmetrical. The symmetrical relations exist between status equals or friends of the same age group. Examples of the use of modes of greetings in symmetrical relations are as follows:

vansə: va:raya:? 'Tell me, are you fine?"

The greetings are used in the asymmetrical intimate relationships between father/mother and son/daughter, elder brother and younger brother or between non-kins. Examples are as follows:

vəliv gobra:, bihiv yet'an
come-pl son/daughter sit-polite here
'Please come and sit over here.'

vansə: he: kar a:yivɨ?
say-polite hey when came-pl
'Hey, tell me when did you come?'

The elders may use the polite expressions of address while being ironic. The father may address his son as follows:

la:ṭh sə:b k'a:zi gəyi nɨ az sku:l
lord sir why went neg today school
'Lord, why didn't you go to school today?'

Communicative intent or purpose of interaction forms an important underlying factor in the exchange of greetings. It is customary to greet a person with whom one is not acquainted for expressing respect or obtaining a favour or help.

a:da:b arɨz jina:b, me:n' kə:m kər'tav haz
greetings hon. my work do-imp-polite hon.
'Greetings, please do my work.'

he ba:ya:, me:ny kath bo:zti
O brother my talk listen to
'O brother, please listen to me.'

Sometimes, they are used for asking for pardon. It is not uncommon to say,

ma:hra:, bi chusay gul' ganḍa:n, mə:phi: diz'am sir

I am-3hands-folded forgive me. 'I am folding my hands before you and seek your forgiveness.'

Modes of greetings are correlated with the modes of address. The modes of greetings are used before a conversation is started and also before parting. The greeting forms are mostly used first by the youngsters for elders or by juniors to seniors. The greetee then reciprocates by the use along with the modes of greetings. The forms of address may either precede or follow the greeting forms.

Modes of Address + Verbal Greeting
ḍa:kṭar sə:b, namaste/namaska:r/a:da:b ariz
ma:sṭar ji:, namaska:r/a:da:b(ariz)/sala:m (a:laikum)
bə:y sə:b, namaska:r

Verbal Greetings + Modes of Address

namaska:r ma:hra:/ma:sṭar ji:
a:da:b ariz jina:b/hazu:r
asla:m a:laikum jina:b

Modes of greetings and address are used as opening phrases for conversations too. The opening phrases in Kashmiri may be of the following type:

təhi kot ta:m chu gatshun
you-dat where up to is go-inf
'Where do you intend to go?'

kəts ma:hra:/jina:b baje:yi
how much Hon.strurck-time
'What is the time, please?'

az ma: peyi ru:d
today possible-part fall-fu rain
'It looks like rain today.'

Reduplication

1. Introduction

In linguistic studies, the term Reduplication is generally used to mean repetition of any linguistic unit such as a phoneme, morpheme, word, phrase, clause or the utterance as a whole. The process of Reduplication at all these levels is very significant both from the grammatical as well as semantic point of view. The repetition types of these linguistic units may be broadly classified under two categories: repetition at the (a) expression level, and repetition at the (b) contents or semantic level. The reduplication of these linguistic units is a very common feature in Kashmiri. The repetition at both these levels is mainly used for emphasis, generality, intensity, or to show continuation of an act. In certain cases, the repetition of a particular linguistic unit is obligatory. Here an attempt is made to indicate the process of Reduplication at the grammatical level as well as at the semantic level. Complete reduplication of morphemes, words and phrases are discussed first. This is followed by a discussion of partial reduplication of words, which are best known as Echo-words, Onomatopoeic words, which involve complete reduplication.

2. Repetition at the Expression Level

At the expression level, the word classes, which are repeated include nouns pronouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs. The repetition of single morphemes or words of all form classes are frequently used in utterances. The examples of these repetition types are given below:

2.1. Nouns and pronouns

A number of nouns and pronouns are repeated in utterances very frequently:

1. šur' šur' a:yi sə:riy va:pas
   children children came all back
   'All the children returned.'

2. su chu sombra:va:n tilimi tilimi
   he is collecting pieces pieces
   'He is collecting by pieces.'

3. me gav zarɨ zarɨ təmis vuchith
   I-erg was pained he-dat see-cp
   'I was pained to see him.'

4. prath kã:h chu pa:nas pa:nas va:ta:n
   everyone is self-fat take care-pr
   'Everybody takes care of himself.'

5. pɔ̃:sɨ pɔ̃:sɨ kərith sombrə:v' təm' va:riyah d'a:r
   paisa paisa do-cp collected he-erg much money
   'He raised a lot of money penny by penny.'

6. yus vus tsi:r' a:v su su tuliv athɨ thod
   who who-nome-rel late came he cor raise hands up
   'Those who came late may raise their hands.'

7. yemis yemis sku:l chu gatshun təmis təmis pazi basi khasun
   who -dat rel school is go-inf cor-dat should bus-dat board-inf
   'Those who have to go to school should board the bus.'

In the example given above, repetition in the sentences 1, 6 and 7 is used for emphasis and generality.

2.2. Adjectives

Reduplication of adjectives is very frequently used in a number of cases for emphasis.

Examples:

8. ja:n ja:n tsũ:ṭh' tsə:riv
   good good apples sort out
   'Please sort out good apples.'

9. yi v'əṭh v'əṭh ku:r cha ka:liji para:n
   this fat-f fat-f girl is college-abl read-pr
   'This fat girl studies in a college.'

10. yimɨ cha lɔkci lɔkci ko:ri
    these are small small girls
    'These are small girls.'

11. pã:tsh pã:tsh ṭhu:l di prath kɔ̃:si
    five five eggs give everyone-dat
    'Give five eggs each to every one.'

12. me chu tot tot batɨ khɔš kara:n
    I-dat is hot hot food like do-pr
    'I like hot food.'

13. yi z'u:ṭh z'u:ṭh lədkɨ chu m'a:ni ga:muk
    this tall tall boy is my village-gen
    'This tall boy belongs to my village.'

14. yim tshoṭ' lədkɨ chi yetiy para:n
    these short short (statured) boys are here-loc study-pr
    'These short stature boys do study here.'

Repetition in the sentences 8 and 11 is obligatory. The Reduplication in these sentences indicate plurality.

2.3. Verbs

In a number of grammatical constructions, the repetition of verbs is obligatory. Verbs also are reduplicated optionally in certain constructions. Following are examples of sentences where verbs are obligatorily repeated:

15. me bu:z re:ḍiyo batɨ kh'ava:n kh'ava:n
    I-dat listened radio food eat-pre eat-pr
    'I listened to radio while eating my meals.'

16. asa:n asa:n tsol təmis oš ni:rith əchav kin'
    laugh-pr laugh-pr fled him tears came-cp eyes through
    'His eyes were filled with tears while laughing.'

17. təmis log dab do:ra:n do:ra:n
    he-dat had fall run-pr rum-pr
    'He fell down while running.'

18. su a:v garɨ vada:n vada:n
    he came home cry-pr cry-pr
    'He came home while crying.'

19. phuṭba:l ginda:n ginda:n log təmis khɔras
    football play-pr play-pr hurt he-dat foot-dat
    'While playing football he hurt his foot.'

20. ca:y cava:n cava:n o:s su ma:ji sɨ:th' kathɨ kara:n
    tea drint-pr drink-pr was he mother-dat talk do-pr
    'While drinking his tea he was talking with his mother.'

21. təm' kor panun pa:n khara:b philmɨ vuch' vuch'
    he-er did self's self spoil films having seen seen
    'He ruined himself by watching movies.'

22. hatibazɨ kita:bɨ pər' pər' ti chunɨ tas tasle: yiva:n
    hundreds books read too isn't he-dat satisfaction come-pr
    'He does not feel satisfied even after reading hundreds of books.'

Repetition of verbs in the sentences is obligatory. The sentences will be ungrammatical if repetitions of the verbs are deleted.

15a *me bu:z re:ḍiyo batɨ kh'ava:n
16a *asa:n tsol təmis oš ni:rith əchav kin'
17a *təmis log dab do:ra:n
18a *su a:v garɨ vada:n
19a *phuṭba:l ginda:n log təmis khɔras
20a *ca:y cava:n o:s su ma:ji si:th' kathɨ kara:n
21a *təm' kor panun pa:n khara:b philmɨ vuch'
22a *hati bazɨ kita:bɨ pər' ti chu nɨ tas tasle: yiva:n

2.4. Adverbs

The repetition of some adverbs is compulsory and it is optional in some cases:

23 yi buḍɨ chu paka:n va:rɨ va:rɨ
   this old man is walk-pr slow slow
   'This old man walks slowly.'

23a.*yi buḍɨ chu paka:n va:rɨ

24. ra:mɨ chu asa:n zo:rɨ zo:rɨ
    Ram is laugh-pr loud loud
    'Ram laughs loudly.'

24a. ra:mɨ cha aca:n zo;rt

25. bɨ tsa:s kuṭhis manz lɔti lɔti
    I entered room-dat in slow slow
    'I entered the room slowly.'

25a. bɨ tsa:s kuṭhis manz lɔti
     'I entered the room slowly.'

26. suban suban cha ti:r a:sa:n
    morning-abl morning-abl is cold be-pr
    'It is cold in the mornings.'

27. bɨ chus to:r gatsha:n ša:man ša:man
    I am there go-pr evening-abl evening-abl
    'I go there in the evenings.'

27a. *bɨ chus to:r gatsha:n ša:man

28. su kapə:r' kapə:r' a:v ?
    he where from-abl came
    'Where from did he come?'

29. yot yot go:s, tati tati bu:z' me təm'sɨnd' tə:ri:ph
    wherever 2 went there-abl heard I-erg his/her praise
    'Wherever I went, I heard his/her praise.'

30. yapə:r' yapə:r' əs' chi paka:n tim ti chi tapə:r' paka:n
    whrever-abl we are walk-pr they also are there-abl walk-pr
    'Wherever we walk, they also take the same root.'

31. su chu manzɨ manzɨ yo:r yiva:n
    he is sometimes 2 here come-pr
    'He comes here sometimes.'

Some types of one-word utterances may also be repeated in Kashmiri. Repetition, here, is only for emphasis or persuasion. One-word utterances, comprising the imperative forms of the verbs are often reduplicated. Repetition of these items indicates an extra urge or persuasion of an act. Examples are as follows:

32.	gatsh gatsh	'go'	getshiv gətshiv	'(Please) go.'
	an an	'bring'	əniv əniv	'(Please) bring.'
	ni ni	'take'	niyiv niyiv	'(Please) take.'
	di di	'give'	di:yiv diyiv	'(Please) give.'
	chal chal	'wash'	chəliv chəliv	'(Please) wash.'

Question particles are also repeated in certain situations where the person is curious to know about complete details. Examples:

33.	k'a: k'a:	'what'	kus kus	'who'
	kar kar	'when'	ku:t ku:t	'how much'

2.5. Clauses and Phrases

Certain clauses or phrases are repeated in long utterances or narration by both speaker and the listener. The repetition of such utterances breaks the

monotony of the narration, allows a pause for the listener to comprehend the situation, and also provides an opportunity for the speaker to the facts and to change the style of narration. Examples:

34. torva: phikri?
    'Did you understand?'

35. bu:zɨva: tɔhi?
    'Did you listen?'

36. tami patɨ k'a: sapud?
    'What happened afterwards?'

37. beyi k'a: sapud?
    'What else did happen?'

Clauses or phrases of the above type vary of the situation, context and persons involved in conversation.

3. Repetition at the Semantic Level

Repetition at the semantic level is not an unknown feature of the Kashmiri language. Different types of expressions involving repetition at the semantic level are used to express generality. Examples are as follows:

2.1 A number of synonymic compounds illustrate the phenomena of repetition at the semantic level as given below:

pə̃ :sɨ ṭũ:k'
'money in general.'

kõḍ ka:ṭh
'work in general.'

palav pɔša:k
'dress.'

38.	vɔsɨ drɔsɨ	'hustle and bustle.'
	tsu:r tsheph	'theft.'
	yatsh patsh	'belief'
	bə:y ba:rɨn'	'brothers.'
	tsə̃zɨ da:yi	'female servants.'
	band bã:dav	'relatives.'
	hakh hamsa:yi	'neighbours.'
	ba:nɨ baṭhɨ	'pots.'
	še:run pə:run	'to decorate.'

tshenun phuṭun	'to be tired'
kam kəli:l	'less.'
hol kol	'twisted.'
v'oṭh pu:ṭh	'fat.'
a:v'ul zə:v'ul	'delicate.'
m'u:ṭh modur	'sweet.'
phuṭi phra:ṭɨ	'broken pieces.'
ma:y məhbath	'love.'
ang ə:shina:v	'relatives.'
to:r təri:kɨ	'method.'
šur' kəṭ'	'children.'
kə:m koṭ	'work.'
sa:d sant	'saint.'
vadun rivun	'to weep.'
karun kra:vun	'to do'
ralun me:lun	'to mix up.'

4. Reduplication of Words

Besides the reduplication types indicated above, reduplication may be studied with reference to the words, which form the basic unit for the process of reduplication. It is necessary to study all types of repetitions, which take place within the word as a unit. Repetition of a sequence of phonemes of the word stem may form either complete reduplication or partial reduplication. Examples of the complete reduplication within the word are as follows:

39.	garɨgarɨ	'from house to house.'
	kharɨkharɨ	'patting on animals.'
	vuzɨvuzɨ	'temptation.'
	tharɨtharɨ	'trembling.'
	maṭimaṭi	'patting in praise or appreciation.'

In certain cases vowel /i/ is inserted before the word which is reduplicated, e.g.,

tshraṭɨtshraṭ 'to be in trouble.'

In the study of the internal composition of the word, reduplication of phonemes is very crucial. If the stem is repeated completely it is called complete reduplication and if stem is repeated partially it is called partial reduplication.

5. Echo-Words

Reduplication in echo-words is always partial. In Kashmiri, the process of echo-formation is very common and simple. At the semantic level, echo-words give an additional meaning indicating 'generally' or the meaning of similar indicating, action, manner and quality etc., which is indicated by the original word stem. Therefore, we may add 'and the like' in the gloss of the echo-words. For example: *po:n'* water, *po:n' vo:n'* 'water and the like'. In the examples given below meanings of the original words have been given.

Echo-words are formed mainly by altering the first phoneme of the stem in the reduplication of the stem. This is a very common type of echo-word formation in Kashmiri. The following changes in vowels may be noted in the echo-formation:

(i) The Initial /v/ of the word stem is replaced by /p/ in the echo-word as in the following examples:

və:j pə:j	ring	vath path	way
va:zɨ pa:zɨ	cook	va:n pa:n	shop
vã:gun pã:gun	egg plant	vɔzul pɔzul	red
vuchun puchun	to see	vaguv paguv	a straw mat
va:dɨ pa:dɨ	promise	vo:n' po:n'	shopkeeper

(ii) The initial /p/ and /ph/ of the word stem is replaced by /v/ as in the following examples of echo-words:

po:n' vo:n'	water	po:š vo:š	flower
pu:za: vu:za:	worship	paš vaš	roof
pal val	stone	phal val	fruit
phot vot	basket	phand vand	deceit
pho:j vo:j	army	pho:ṭu: vo:ṭu:	photograph
phar var	fur	pho:n vo:n	phone

(iii) The initial consonants other than /v/, /p/ and /ph/ of the word stem may be replaced by /v/, e.g.,

kɔkur vɔkur	cock	ku:r vu:r	girl
kən' vən'	stone	khar var	donkey
kha:m va:m	raw	khɔr vɔr	foot
gər vər	watch	gagur vagur	mouse
gula:b vula:b	rose	co:r vo:r	dumb
ca:y va:y	tea	co'n v'on	to drink

chalun valun	to wash	cha:n va:n	carpenter
chon von	empty	tsu:r vu:r	thief
tsaṭun vaṭun	to cut	tshal val	deceit
tshor vor	empty	tshã:ḍ vã:ḍ	search
jom vom	Jammu	ja:y va:y	place
jɔy vɔy	stream	zor vor	deaf
zar var	money	za:n va:n	acquaintance
ṭ'oth v'oṭh	bitter	ṭhu:l vu:l	egg
ṭha:nɨ va:nɨ	lid	danḍɨ vanḍɨ	stick
ḍar var	fear	to:tɨ vo:tɨ	parrot
ta:j va:j	crown	ta:r va:r	wire
tha:l va:l	plate	tham vam	pillar
thən'vən'	butter	da:ni va:ni	paddy
dɔd vɔd	milk	da:s va:s	servant
nalkɨ valkɨ	tap	nas vas	nose
bar var	door	batɨ vatɨ	food
bas vas	bus	mo:zɨ vo:zɨ	socks
mas vas	hair	ya:r va:r	friend
yaḍ vaḍ	belly	ye:r ve:r	wool
rath vath	blood	raz vaz	rope
ru:s vu:s	Russia	lu:r vu:r	stick
loṭ voṭ	tail	shur vur	child
ši:n vi:n	snow	ša:m va:m	evening
sa:z va:z	music	sir vir	secret
soth voth	bund	haš vaš	mother-in-law
has vos	elephant	ha:r va:r	necklace
ṭama:ṭar vama:ṭar	tomatoes	ṭa:ṭh va:ṭh	mat

(iv) The initial consonant cluster is replaced by a single consonant /v/ in the echo-word. Examples:

pron von	fair	drog vog	expensive
srog vog	cheap	dro:t vo:t	sickle
gra:kh va:kh	customer	pra:n va:n	garlic
pras vas	press	tre:š ve:š	drinking water

(v) If the word stem starts with a vowel, /v/ is inserted in the initial position of the echo-word. Examples:

əch vəch	eye	ə:s və:s	mouth
amb vamb	mango	ə:nɨ və:nɨ	mirror
a:dath va:dath	habit	isla:h visla:h	shave

i:d vi:d	Eid	era:dɨ vera:dɨ	determination
o:l vo:l	nest	on von	blind
umɨr vumɨr	age	e:la:n ve:la:n	announcement

6. Onomatopoeic Words

There exists an important referential relationship between the form and meaning of lexical items. In certain cases the sound sequence of the word in itself denotes the particular meaning of the form. In such examples the utterances of lexical items by themselves sound the meaning they stand for. Such forms of lexical items are known as onomatopoeic. In the ono-word, the sound of the word has a special significance which illustrates the meaning. The onomatopoeic words represent an imitation of a particular sound or imitation of an action along with the sound, etc. Some ono-words are reduplicated and others are not. Here are the examples of those, onomatopoeic words which are reduplicated. In the following examples, there is a complete reduplication:

kɨr kɨr	squeak of doors, windows etc.
gɨr gɨr	noise of the running of a vehicle
ṭhin' ṭhin'	noise of a bell
gɨṭh gɨṭh	noise of the drinking of water
ci:riv ci:riv	twittering of birds
ṭik ṭik	the ticking of watch
ḍum ḍum	beating of drums
pɨr pɨr	unnecessary talking
pã: pã:	noise of horn
thu: thu:	spitting
bak bak	unnecessary and constant talking
vɔph vɔph	barking of a dog.

7. Conclusion

As in other Indo-Aryan languages, Reduplication is a very productive process at both the grammatical as well as semantic levels in Kashmiri. We have illustrated the phenomenon at the expression as well as at the semantic levels. The reduplication is of two types: (i) complete reduplication of the morphemes, words, phrases etc. or (ii) partial as in echo-words. As indicated above, the reduplication is mainly used for emphasis, generality, intensity, or to show continuation of an act.

Persian Lexical Borrowings

1. Introduction

Lexical borrowings are an important part of the development of lexicon and modernization of any language. Lexical borrowings take place primarily in languages-in-contact situations. Like other modern Indo-Aryan languages, Kashmiri has borrowed its vocabulary largely from Sanskrit, Persian and recently from English at different levels. In the present paper, we will attempt to discuss the Persian lexical borrowings in Kashmiri at different linguistic levels. Here, Persian lexical borrowings include those lexical items too, which are borrowed originally from Arabic into Persian. It is not certain that Arabic lexical items have been borrowed in Kashmiri only though Persian; there may have been certain instances of direct borrowing as well. We will discuss the borrowings with respect to their phonological changes to suit the phonological characteristics of Kashmiri, its influence on the affixation and compounding under morphology, the lexical transfer to express various concepts, the semantic changes from original Persian into Kashmiri, and the development of registers under the influence of Persian.

2. Phonology

Persian borrowed lexical items have undergone various phonological changes in Kashmiri to suit the phonetic and phonological characteristics of Kashmiri. Some phonological changes of vowels and consonants are briefly discussed below.

2.1. Vowel changes

The following vowel changes may be noted in the case of borrowed lexical items from Persian into Kashmiri:

(i) Consonant clusters in the final position are broken by inserting vowels /ɨ/or /u/ in borrowed lexical items. Examples:

Persian	Kashmiri	
darj	darɨj	'include'
barg	bərɨg	'leaf'

rasm rasɨm 'custom'
sabz sabɨz 'green'
mard marɨd 'male'
nazm nazɨm 'poem'
abr obur 'cloud'
harf haruph 'a letter of alphabet'

(i) The lower-mid vowel /a/ changes into /ə/, and /o/:

barg bərɨg 'leaf'
mahal məhal 'palace'

(ii) The low central long vowel /a:/ changes into mid central vowel/ə/ if it is followed by a consonant and the vowel / i/ or /i:/.

a:ba:bi: a:bə:di: 'population'
ta:ri:kh tə:ri:kh 'date'
a:jiz ə:jiz 'fed up'
ta:ki:d tə:ki:d 'to insist'
ta:vi:z tə:vi:z 'amulet'
xa:tir khə:tir 'treatment'
xa:li: khə:li: 'empty'
ja:gi:r jə:gi:r 'estate'
na:zir nə:zir 'an official'
ma:liš mə:liš 'massage'
ra:zi: rə:zi: 'willing'
ha:zir hə:zir 'present'
va:ris və:ris 'heir'
xa:lis khə:lis 'only'
xa:riš khə:riš 'a skin disease'
Galiban gə:liban 'probably'

(iii) The low central long vowel /a: / changes into high central vowel/ɨ/in the final position of words:

ta:za: ta:zɨ 'fresh'
ka:rxa:na: ka:rkha:nɨ 'factory'
kharca: kharcɨ 'expense'
tama:ša: tama:šɨ 'a show'
tarjama: tarjamɨ 'translation'
zila: zilɨ 'district'

guma:šta:	guma:štɨ	'clerk'
parda:	pardɨ	'veil'

(iv) Front vowels /i/ and /e/ changes into /yi/ and /ye/ respectively in the initial position:

isba:t	yisba:th	'prove'
itiha:d	yitiha:d	'unity'
itifa:q	yitipha:kh	'chance'
istima:l	yistima:l	'use'
imka:n	yimka:n	'possibility'
e:tiba:r	ye:tiba:r	'belief'

(v) The high back vowel /u/ changes into back vowel /ɔ/:

xuda:	khɔda:h	'God'
guna:	gɔna:h	'sin'
muhta:j	mɔhta:j	'needy'
Gula:m	gɔla:m	'servant'
surma:	sɔrmɨ	'collyrium'
gula:b	gɔla:b	'rose'

(vi) The high vowel /u/ changes into /vɔ/ in the initial position:

usta:d	vɔsta:d	'master'
umi:d	vɔme:d	'hope'

(vii) The diphthong /au/ is replaced by the vowel /o:/:

mauqa:	mo:kɨ	'opportunity'
daur	do:r	'period'
naukar	no:kar	'servant'

2.1.2. Consonant changes

The following changes in consonants may be noted in Persian borrowed lexical items in Kashmiri:

(i) The uvular stop /q/ is replaced by velar stop /k/:

qad	kad	'height'
qara:r	kara:r	'rest'
qalam	kalam	'pen'
naql	nakɨl	'copy'

maqa:m	muka:m	'place'
baqa:ya:	baka:yɨ	'balance'
yaqi:n	yaki:h	'belief'
burqa:	burkɨ	'veil'

(ii) The velar fricative /x/ is replaced by velar stop /kh/:

xa:riš	khə:riš	'itch'
xa:s	kha:s	'particular'
za:k	kha:kh	'dust'
xa:ka:	kha:kɨ	'a sketch'
xa:ki:	khə:k'	'dusty'
xa:m	kha:m	'raw'
xa:mo:š	kha:mo:š	'silent'
xabar	khabar	'news'
xara:b	khara:b	'bad'
xuš	khɔš	'glad'

(iii) The voiced velar fricative /G/ is replaced by velar stop /g/:

Gula:m	gɔla:m	'servant'
Gari:b	gari:b	'poor'
ba:G	ba:g	'garden'
Gam	gam	'sorrow'
Gali:z	gəli:z	'dirty'
da:G	da:g	'spot'

(iv) The voiced labio-dental fricative /f/ changes into voiceless aspirated bilabial stop /ph/:

afsar	aphsar	'officer'
faqi:r	phaki:r	'beggar'
daftar	daphtar	'office'
Gaflat	gaphlath	'neglect'

(v) The voiceless unaspirated dental stop /t/ is replaced by /th/:

Galat	galath	'wrong'
zahmat	zəhmath	'trouble'
tija:rat	tija:rath	'business'
minnat	minath	'obligation'
a:dat	a:dath	'habit'
šarbat	šarbath	'juice'

eba:dat	yeba:dath	'prayer'
hara:rat	hara:rath	'heat'
harkat	harkath	'movement'
hazrat	hazrath	'sir'

(vi) The voiceless unaspirated velar stop/k/ is replaced by /kh/:

na:zuk	no:zukh	'delicate'
šari:k	šari:kh	'partner'
maza:k	maza:kh	'joke'
ca:la:k	ca:la:kh	'clever'
po̤:ša:k	po:ša:kh	'dress'
pa:k	pa:kh	'pure'

(vii) The dental unaspirated voiced stop /d/ is inserted in the following examples:

bara:bari:	bara:bardi	'equality'
tanu:r	tandu:r	'oven'

(viii) The dental unaspirated stop /t/ is lost when it is preceded by alveolar fricative /s/ or palatal /š/:

a:bgo:št	a:bgo:š	'meat soup'
ka:štka:r	ka:ška:r	'peasant'
ya:da:št	ya:da:š	'memory'
mast	mas	'intoxicated'
dastkhat	daskhat	'signatures'
zabardast	zabardas	'strong'

(ix) The bilabial semi-vowel /v/ is lost if it is preceded by a consonant:

darkhva:st	darkha:s	'petition'
barkhva:st	barkha:s	'adjourn'
khva:b	kha:b	'dream'

(x) The last consonant in a lexical item followed by a vowel /i:/ is palatalized and the vowel /i:/ is later dropped:

ba:zi:	ḅə:z'	'game'
sava:ri:	savə:r'	'ride'
kursi:	kurɨs'	'chair'
niša:ni:	nišə:n'	'betrothal'

3. Morphology

Two main devices of affixation and compounding of the Persianized Kashmiri word-formation are briefly indicated here.

3.1 Affixation

Affixation of the morphemes may be divided into two categories: (1) prefixation of morphemes and (2) suffixation of morphemes.

3.1.1 Prefixation

Persian prefix + Kashmiri stem:

be- (in the sence of 'without'):
bepatsh 'untrustworthy,' bezuv 'without life' bevəti:r 'without manners,'
ba:- (in the sense of 'with'):
ba:darɨm 'with religious piety'
har- (in the sense of 'every'):
harkã:h 'every one' harja:yi 'every place'
bad- (in the sense of 'bad'):
badza:th 'bad character'
kam- (in the sense of 'little'):
kamza:n 'a little acquainted person'
bar- (in the sense of 'on'):
barz'av 'on the tip of the tongue'

Kashmiri prefix+ Persian stem:

-da:r (in the sense of 'with'):
ləṭ'da:r 'with tail,' chiṭida:r 'with prints'

3.1.2. Suffixation

Persian stem+ Kashmiri suffix:

-an (locative case marker):
saha:ran 'in the early morning,' ša:man 'in the evening'
-as (dative case marker used with mas. sg. subjects):
marɨdas 'to the male, əmi:ras 'to the rich,' me:zas 'to the table'
-i (dative case marker used with feminine subject):
kita:bi 'to a book'
-an (dative case marker used with mas.pl. subjects):
gəri:ban 'the poor people'
-vo:l (in the sense of 'the person who owns'):
duka:nɨvo:l 'the owner of a shop,' kita:bɨvo:l 'the owner of books'

-pət' (indicates particular 'time'):
  ša:mɨpət' 'in the evening'
-tal (in the sense of 'under'):
  nazarital 'under the sight'
-gor (indicates 'occupation'):
  nakšigor 'one who makes maps'

Kashmiri stem + Persian suffix

Persian provides model for deriving some grammatical forms in Kashmiri. Nouns of agency are formed at the Persian model by adding the suffixes –*gor* and –*ci:*,e.g.,

g'avangor	'one who sings'
gindangor	'one who plays'
natsangor	'one who dances'
tabalci:	'one who plays on tabla'
ə:phi:mci	'one who is addicted to opium'

Suffix *-gi:* is used to form abstract nouns, e.g.,

ga:nɨgi:	'the act of procurer'
badma:šɨgi:	'the act of a rogue'.

Suffixes *-ba:z, -mand* and *-za:dɨ* are used in forming modifiers from nouns, e.g.,

do:khɨba:z	'deceitful'
ca:lda:z	'crafty'
phə:ydɨmand	'useful'
akɨlmand	'wise'
do:latmand	'rich
darza:dɨ	'an offspring of Dars'.

Abstract nouns are formed from nouns of agency by adding i:

ma:ṣṭar	'teacher'	ma:ṣṭəri:	'teachership'
aphsar	'officer'	aphsari:	'officership'
da:kṭar	'doctor'	ḍa:kṭəri:	'medical practice'
ci:n	'China'	ci:ni:	'Chinese'

3.2. Compounding

There are many examples of compounds formed by the combination of Persian and Kashmiri words.

a. Kashmiri + Persian word compounds:

Compound		Kashmiri		Persian	
tsok a:taš	'sour'	tsok	'sour'	a:taš	'fire'
modur kand	'sweet'	modur	'sweet'	kand	'sugar candy'
darɨm i:ma:n	'faith'	darɨm	'religion'	i:ma:n	'faith'
kruhun siya:h	'black'	kruhun	'black'	siya:h	'black'
kə:m ka:r	'work'	kə:m	'work'	ka:r	'work'
ri:th riva:j	'cusoms'	ri:th	'rities'	riva:j	'ceremony'

b. Persian + Kashmiri word compounds

Compound		Persian		Kashmiri	
bakhɨtɨ boḍ	'fortunate'	bakht	'luck	boḍ	'big'
di:n darɨm	'faith'	di:n	'religion	darɨm	'faith'
saphe:d ši:n	'snow-white'	saphe:d	'white'	ši:n	'snow'
mo:m bət'	'candle'	mo:m	'vax'	bət'	'a lamp'

4. Lexical Transfer

A large number of lexical items of Persian are transferred to Kashmiri and are used in the same sense as they are used in Persian. A partial list of such lexical items is given below:

> ada: 'grace,' adab 'literature,' amba:r 'store,' asli, 'real' andar 'inside' aya:š 'luxurious,' aiya:l 'family' agar 'if,' anja:m 'result,' a:ga:h 'acquainted' a:b 'water,' a:sma:n 'sky,' a:va:z 'sound,' kaba:b 'roast meat,' kam 'little,' ka:r 'work' kamar 'waist,' gaz 'a yard,' gardan 'neck,' gard 'dust,' ca:plu:s 'flatterer,' ja:n 'good,' ja:nvar 'animal,' java:n 'young,' java:b 'reply,' jaha:n 'world,' jang 'quarrel,' zarar 'harm,' zami:n 'land,' zi:n 'saddle,' tan 'body,' tang 'tight,' taba:h 'spoil,' tama:m 'all,' tasvi:r 'picture,' dam 'breath,' dasti: 'by hand,' dala:l 'a broker,' da:sta:n 'story,' da:na: 'a wise person,' da:man 'foot (of a mountain),' dil 'heart,' di:da:r 'sight,' dila:var 'brave,' dušman 'enemy,' du:r 'far,' du:rbi:n 'a telescope,' nazar 'sight,' nar 'male,' na:ci:z 'worthless,' na:da:n 'ignorant,' na:pasand 'displeasing,' na:bu:d 'annihilated,' na:bka:r 'useless,' na:sa:z 'discordant,' ni:m 'half,' nu:r 'light,' payvand 'grafting,' pana:h 'shelter,' palang 'a bed,' pahalva:n 'wrestler,' po:ša:k

'dress,' bad 'bad,' baha:r 'spring,' ba:da:m 'almond,' ba:m 'roof,' ba:r 'weight,' ba:var 'belief,' bisya:r 'many,' magar 'but,' majlis 'meeting,' malmal 'fine cotton,' ma:yu:s 'sad,' ma:l 'wealth,' meharba:n 'kind,' me:z 'a table,' ya:d 'memory,' ja:r 'friend,' rag 'vein,' rang 'colour,' rahbar 'a guide,' ra:y 'judgement,' 'idea,' ra:n 'thigh,' laškar 'army,' la:š 'a dead body,' varam 'swelling,' vasi:h 'broad,' vosu:l 'to receive,' šab 'night,' šabnam 'dew,' šara:b 'liquor,' ša:n 'glory,' ša:m 'evening,' ša:yad 'perhaps,' sabab 'reason,' sabzi: 'greenry,' sarhad 'boundary,' sava:b 'good deed,' siya:h 'black,' si:ma:b 'quick silver,' hayva:n 'animal,' had 'limit,' hama:m 'bath,' hamva:r 'level,' hal 'solution,' havas 'desire,' hasad 'jealousy,' etc.

5. Semantic Changes

A number of Persian borrowed lexical items in Kashmiri are semantically different in their use. In general, changes of meaning are of three types: expansion, contraction and totally different. Examples:

Persian	Gloss	Kashmiri	Gloss
alma:s	diamond	alma:s	sharp
a:šna:i:	acquaintance	ə:šnə:yi:	relation
kahva:	coffee	kəhvɨ	Kashmiri tea
xala:s	free	khala:s	sorry, free
ga:v	ox, cow	ga:v	cow
zar	gold	zar	money
zang	belt, rust	zang	leg, rust
zabar	a vowel sign	zabar	right, good
za:r	weeping, groan	za:r	gambling
tar	wet, moist	tar	bud
ta:b	heat	ta:b	patience
da:s	sickle	da:s	threshold
dali:l	argument	dali:l	matter, story
da:d	justice	da:d	request
da:m	snare, trap	da:m	sip
darba:r	court	darba:r	office
na:saza:	improper	na:saza:	abuses
nam	dew moisture	nam	a nail
dargah	court	darga:h	shrine
partau	ray, light	partav	influence
ma:h	month, moon	ma:h	a kiss
rasad	troop	rasad	ration
lab	lip, edge	lab	a wall

sar	head, top	sar	a pond
sangi:n	heavy	sangi:n	strong
sa:n	military parade	sa:n	with
su:d	profit, benefit	su:d	interest
asba:b	causes	asba:b	goods
a:m	well known	a:m	common
bandgi:	slavery	bandgi:	worship
buxa:r	stream	bukha:r	fever
daftar	book, file	daphtar	office
dariya:	sea	dəriya:v	river
haja:mat	scarification	haja:math	hair-cutting
haki:m	philosopher	haki:m	physician
i:ma:nda:r	faithful	yi:ma:nda:r	honest
jalu:s	sitting	jalu:s	procession
ka:nu:ngo	lawyer	ka:nu:ngo:	revenue official
xasam	enemy	khasam	husband
lifa:fa:	wrapper	lipha:phɨ	envelope
naql	change	nakɨl	copy
pa:band	foot tied	pa:band	punctual
rasu:x	firmness	rasu:kh	influence
sa:fa:	filtering cloth	sa:phɨ	turban
silsila:	chain	silsilɨ	connection
sirf	pure	siriph	only
tafsi:l	distance	taphsi:l	details, list
tarki:b	mixture	tarki:b	method
vaki:l	agent	vaki:l	lawyer
zabt	control	zabɨt	confiscation
zulm	darkness	zulum	cruelty

6. Registers

Three main types of registers of Persianized Kashmiri have developed: (1).Rerister of Religion, (2) Register of Law, and (3) Register of Business. These registers are highly influenced by the borrowing of a number of lexical items from Persian.

6.1. Register of Religion

A number of lexical items borrowed from the Persian language are used in the religious register of Muslims. Examples:

kabar (qabr), 'a grave,' korba:n (qorba:n) 'sacrifice,' k'obul (qibla:)

'facing towards Mecca,' khoda:h (xuda:) 'God,' gɔna:h (gunah) 'sin,' janath (janat) 'paradize,' z'a:rath (ziya:rat) 'visit to a holy place,' tə:ziyath (ta:ziyat) 'to visit a bereaved family,' tə:vi:z (ta:vi:z) 'an amulet,' to:bu:d (ta:bu:d) 'coffin,' tasbih 'beads used for saying prayers,' yima:m (ima:m) 'leader in prayers,' yi:ma:n (i:ma:n) 'faith,' di:n 'religion,' duva:h (dua:) 'prayer,' dasgi:r 'a holy man,' darga:h (dargah) 'shrine,' do:zukh (do:zax) 'hell,' naja:th (naja:t) 'liberation,' n'ama:z (nima:z) 'prayers,' niya:z 'holy offerings,' nabi: 'a prophet,' nika:h 'marriage,' pa:kh (pa:k) 'pure, holy' phəriští (farišta:) 'angel,' parvardiga:r 'God,' paigambar (paiGambar) 'prophet,' pi:r 'a saint' bihišth (bihišt) 'paradise,' mazhab 'religion,' masjid 'mosque,' raham 'pity,' ro:zɨ (ro:za:) 'fast,' rəsu:l (rasu:l) 'prophet", rab 'God,' vozu: 'ablution,' šara:h (šara:) 'religious law' sonath (sunnat) 'circumcision,' hazrath (hazrat) 'prophet' haj 'pilgrimage to Mecca' etc.

6.2. Register of Law

The following Persian borrowed lexical items in the register of law are frequently used in judicial contexts:

ada:vath (ada:vat) 'enmity,' ada:lath (ada:lat) 'court,' arzi:nəvi:s (arzi:navi:s) 'a petition writer,' agvah (aGva:) 'kid-nap,' khə:rij (xa:rij) 'dismissed,' gavah 'witness,' girav (girvi:) 'mortagage,' jarah 'argument,' java:b da:va: 'reply of suit,' təhsi:l 'a sub-division,' jurma:nɨ (jurma:na:) 'penalty,' zama:nath (zama:nat) 'bail,' tə:ri:kh (ta:ri:x) 'date of hear-ing,' ta:mi:l 'service of warrant,' tasphi: (tasfiya:) 'compro-mise,' tasdi:kh (tasdi:q) 'attestation,' daphah (dafa:) 'section,' da:va: 'law suit,' dasta:ve:z 'document,' nə:yib (na:yib) 'an official,' pi:ši: (pe:ši:) 'hearing,' pe:ška:r 'a court clerk,' phara:r 'absconder,' phə:slɨ (fa:sla:) 'judgement,' baha:l (baha:li:) 're-instatement,' mudəyi: 'applant,' bara:mad 'found,' bari: 'ac-quitted,' bana:m 'versus,' baya:n 'statement,' ba:lig (ba:liG) 'adult,' yinsa:ph (insa:f) 'justice,' yikra:rna:mɨ (ikra:rna:ma:) 'bond,' muda:l 'defender,' mansu:kh (manso:x) 'cancelled,' mulzim 'accused,' ma:vzɨ (ma:vza:) 'compensation,' manzu:r 'acceptance,' misal 'file,' yiṣta:m pharo:š (iṣta:m faro:š) 'court stamp vender,' yijla:s (ijla:s) 'meeting,' yistiga:s (istiGa:s) 'suit,' sura:g (sura:G) 'clue,' vaki:l 'a lawyer,' sabu:t 'proof,' vaka:lath (vaka:lat) 'law profession,' šaha:dath (šaha:dat)

'evidence,' vaka:lathna:mɨ (vaka:latna:ma:) 'a legal statement,' rišvath (rišvat) 'bribe,' rasi:d 'receipt,' vəris (va:ris) 'legal heir,' šarat 'condition,' vəzi:r 'a minister, 'vaza:rath (vaza:rat) 'minintry,' hira:sath (hira:sath) 'custody,' hukum (hukm) 'order,' hakh (haq) 'right,' ha:ziri: 'presence,' harja:nɨ (harja:na:) 'compensation,' giriphta:r (girfta:r) 'arrest' etc.

6.3. Register of Business

The following lexical items borrowed from Persian are used in the register of business:

karzɨ (qarza:) 'debt,' kipha:yath (kifa:yat) 'reduction,' kira:yɨ (kira:ya:) 'rent,' kirya:nɨ (kirya:na:) 'grocery,' to:lɨ (tola:) 'a measurement of weight,' tija:rath (tija:rat) 'trade,' takhsi:m (taqsi:m) 'division,' tho:k 'wholesale' darjan 'a dozen,' na:p 'measurement,' nokhsa:n (nuqsa:n) 'loss,' pa:v 'a measurement,' payma:nɨ (payma:na:) 'a measuring pot,' phə:ydɨ (fa:yda:) 'profit' bara:t 'a bill of exchange,' ma:šɨ (ma:ša:) 'a measurement,' hə:sil (ha:sil) 'balance obtained,' guma:štɨ (guma:šta:) 'agent,' andra:j 'entry,' rasi:d 'receipt,' ro:zna:mcɨ (ro:zna:mca:) 'daily account book,' sastɨ (sasta:) 'cheap,' se:r 'a measurement,' su:d 'interest' etc.

7. Conclusion

The Kashmiri language has come in contact with the Persian language right from the 14th century with the Muslim rule in the valley. Persian was the official language of the state and its use was patronized by the alien rulers. The Persian language and literature had a tremendous impact on the Kashmiri language and literature at various levels. Kashmiri borrowed a large number of lexical items in various domains. The Persian literary genres had an impact on the Kashmiri literary genres too. A large number of Persian legends and other literary forms were translated into Kashmiri. The borrowings have undergone certain phonological changes. The Persian borrowings have influenced the language at the morphological and lexical levels too. We have illustrated the Persianisation of Kashmiri at the levels of word-formation in the use of affixes and compounding. We have also indicated the lexical transfer, and semantic changes. Persian has widely influenced the development of registers of religion, law, and business.

Standardization of Kashmiri Script

Introduction

The standardization of the writing system of a language is considered an important aspect of the language development process. The writing system includes orthography as well as the spellings. Standardization needs to be study from the points phonological characteristics of the language, modern technology such as computerization, printing process, use of symbols for science and technology etc. Here an attempt will be made to discuss main issues related to the standardization of the Perso-Arabic script as used for Kashmiri and to provide some suggestions.

The writing system consists of orthography and spellings. Orthography includes various aspects of script; alphabet inventory, alphabet arrangement, writing conventions, etc. Script is independent of any specific language. Different language may use the same script at of time. There are basically three scripts systems: Alphabetic, which takes segments as the units for visual symbols; syllabic, which takes syllables as the unit; and logographic, which tales the morpheme as the unit. Writing conventions include use of different shapes of symbols in different modes of writing such as handwriting and printing. The spelling system is dependent on words. It is an agreement of visual symbols to represent the words of language.

Language can be seen at two levels: spoken and written. Written language is not always and need not be the exact replication of the spoken language. It has its own structural and functional characteristics. The writing system is not only the mode of communicating through the visuals medium but also has a social value attached to it. It serves as symbol for an identity of the group of people using the particular script . The language planner who is involved in the standardization of the script must keep in view the communicative as well as social aspects of it.

The standard writing system is an important component of the development of a language. This facilitates the teaching and/or learning of the written skills of a language. It is ideal to have a writing system closely related to the phonetic and phonological systems of a language, and which suits the modern technology such as typewriter, computerization and printing process. The issues related to the standardization of the

Kashmiri script will be primarily studied from the above points of view. Wherever possible, suggestions will be offered.

Script for Kashmiri

The earliest script used for writing Kashmiri is the Sharada script. This script is derived from Brahmi and has developed around the 10th century. The earliest literary texts of the language are available in this script. It has become obsolete and is now confined to the writing of horoscopes by Kashmiri Hindu priests. Devanagari and Roman scripts have also been used for writing Kashmiri at different points of time. They continue to be used in cited texts of Kashmiri in the books written in Hindi and English related to Kashmiri language and literature. The Perso-Arabic script has been recognized as the official script of Kashmiri by the Jammu and Kashmir Government, after independence. Among other Indian languages, the Perso-Arabic script is used for Urdu and Sindhi as well. Here we will limit our observations to the use of this script for Kashmiri.

The Perso-Arabic script

It would not be out of place to point out certain important characteristics of the Perso-Arabic script. This script is written from right to left as compared to Roman and Devanagari which are written from left to right. It has two modes: nasakh or the type script, and nastaalikh handwritten.

The language planners who swear by standardization as one of the important criteria in language development, are over enthusiastic in achieving the standardization at all cost. But is it feasible? An important question needs to be asked. If the script is not efficient, should it be modified drastically or replaced by another? Drastic modifications and replacements are not easy solutions. Usually replacements are not possible as scripts trend to become markers of identity. Modifications or adaptations according to requirements, though not an easy process, is preferred. The modifications need to be planned keeping in view other problems.

If an orthography has a large number of diacritical markers, it slows the speed of typing and composing for printing. When writing is hand, there is a possibility of missing some diacritics . In the Perso-Arabic script, the diacritics indicating vowels and other accessory orthographical signs like geminations, clusters etc. are often missed.

In the Perso-Arabic script the letters change their shapes depending on whether they occur in isolation or in combination with another letter or a particular group of letters. The Kashmiri script follows all the

principles of the conventional Perso-Arabic script as far as the design of the shapes of letters is concerned. This also applies to the use of diacritic markers devised for the additional Kashmiri vowels, consonants, and other phonetic characteristics like palatalization. Here the complete vowel signs are used in the initial position and their signs are used in the medical positions.

The standardization of Kashmiri script can be looked in terms of its use in (1) representation of phonetic and phonological characteristics of the language, (2) use of transliteration, technical symbols used in science and technology, abbreviations, punctuation marks, numerals etc. and (3) use of modern technology such as typewriting, computerization, printing process etc.

Representation of Phonetic and Phonological Characteristics

Keeping in view the phonetic and phonological characteristics of the Kashmiri language, the script has been modified to include some additional diacritic markers for representing various vowels: Front unrounded vowels: إ /i/, ای /i:/, ےٚ /e/, and ے /e:/; back unrounded vowels اُ /u/, اوٗ /u:/, اوٚ /o/, او /o:/, اۆ /ɔ/ and اۆ /ɔ:; central vowels ٳ /ɨ/, ٳٕ /ɨ:/, أ /ə/, ٲ /ə:/, ا /a/ and آ /a:/. The vowels ɨ, ɨ:, ə, ə: and ɔ, ɔ: are not found in Urdu or Hindi. Additional diacritics markers have been devised for representing these vowels as ٳ /ɨ/, ٳٕ /ɨ:/, أ /ə/, ٲ /ə:/, and اۆ /ɔ/. The central vowels are represented by the extra signs written above and underneath the letter alif. The back low rounded vowel is written by alternating the symbol used for و /v/ (/o/). The short vowels /e/ and /o/ are represented by adding a diacritic sign on the top of the letters of ے /e:/ and او /o:/ (ےٚ /e/, اوٚ /o/). The signs for representing other vowels are already in the Perso-Arabic script used for Urdu.

There is a lack of rationale in some cases. For instance, following the conventional use of Perso-Arabic vowels signs, full graphemes are used in the initial position. But the vowel sign devised for central mid long vowels /ə:/ is used in complete form even in the medial and final positions along with alif.

In consonants, Kashmiri has two dental affricate sounds /ts/ and /tsh/ which are not found in Urdu-Hindi. The symbols suggested and used for these sounds are /ts/, and /tsh/. The first symbol represents the palto-alveolar fricative /dz/ in Urdu. Using of these symbols create some confusion for the readers when they are familiar with their use in Urdu differently. The palatalization is an important phonological characteristic of Kashmiri. All the consonants expect the palatal ones can be palatalized. Two signs for the palatalization have been devised which

appear at the middle and final positions of words. These signs are often mistaken for the signs of /e/ in the middle position and /i:/ in the final position.

Though attempts have been made to provide for additional symbols for some vowels and consonantal sounds, but the script is not comprehensive in accounting for all the phonetic and phonological characteristics of the language. For example, there are no symbols for representing the diphthongs /uɨ/, /u:ɨ/ and /o:ə/ as in the following pairs of words.

gur	گُر	'horse'	guɨr	گٕر	'mare'
šur	شُر	'child' (m)	šuɨr	شٕر	'child' (f)
gu:r	گوٗر	'milkman'	gu:ɨr	گوٕٗر	'milkmaid'
tsu:r	ژوٗر	'thief' (m)	tsu:ɨr	ژوٕٗر	'thief' (f)
gob	گوب	'heavy' (m)	goəb	گۄب	'heavy' (f)
moṭ	موٹ	'thick' (m)	moəṭ	مۄٹ	'thick' (f)

It is not possible to use the diacritic markers already devised in the writing of the extra vowel signs in combination appropriate to the pronunciation. Currently, these distinctions in the writing are not made. This creates a confusion for the second language learners of Kashmiri.

The Kashmiri language does not have voiced aspirated sounds of /bh/, /dh/, /dàh/, /gh/, /jh/, and /r=h/ as they occur in Hindi-Urdu. The words borrowed form Hindi-Urdu into Kashmiri undergo phonetic changes accordingly. Examples are as follows:

HU	Kashmir	Gloss
bhagva:n	bagva:n	'God'
dhan	dan	'money'
ḍhol	ḍo:əl	'drum'
ghar	gari	'house'
jhanḍa:	janḍi	'flag'

The symbols for the voiced aspirated sounds need not, therefore, be used in Kashmiri. However, some writers under the influence of Urdu and Hindi tend to use these signs while writing these words in Kashmiri.

The Kashmiri language does not have the uvular stop /q/, velar fricatives /x/, and /G/, and labio-dental fricative /f/. These sounds are replaced by /k/, /kh/, /g/, /ph/ respectively in the words borrowed from Perso-Arabic sources as follows:

PA	Kashmiri	
qad	kad	'height'
qalam	kalam	'pen'
xuda:	khuda:	'God'
xara:b	khara:b	'bad'

rux	rukh	'direction'
Gari:b	gari:b	'poor'
ba:G	ba:g	'garden'
farq	parakh	'difference'
fursat	phursath	'leisure'

The symbols used in the Perso-Arabic script for representing these sounds need not therefore be used in Kashmiri.

In the Perso-Arabic script, there are more than one allographs for represening particular sounds. For instance, the sound /z/ is presented by four allographs (ز، ذ، ظ، ض), /h/ by two (ه، ح), /s/ by three (س، ص، ث), /a/ by two (ا، ع), and /t/ by two (ت، ط). Ideally speaking, allographs need not be used in the Kashmiri script. But keeping in view the historical development of language, its lexicon and socio-cultural aspects, any process towards the standardization in this direction needs serious thought.

In Kashmiri, the voiceless unaspirated sounds /k/, /p/, and /t/ in the borrowed words are aspirated in the word final position is all the borrowed words. Examples:

HU	Kashmiri	Gloss
mulk	mulukh	'country'
pa:k	pa:kh	'pure'
pa:p	pa:ph	'sin'
ra:t	ra:th	'night'
dava:t	dava:th	'inkpot' etc.

The Kashmiri writers do not always write these words as they are pronounced but follow their writing conventions in Urdu.

The vowels /i/, /i:/, /e/, /e:/ and /u/ are not used in word-initial position. In the borrowed words from Perso-Arabic sources either the glides /y/ and /v/ are added or they are replayed by permissible vowels in the initial position. Examples are as follows:

PA	Kashmiri	Gloss
i:d	yi:d	'Eid'
ila:j	yela:j	'treatment'
intiza:r	yintiza:r	'wait'
i:ma:nda:r	yi:ma:nda:r	'honest'
ehsa:n	yehsa:n	'obligation'
iba:dat	yiba:dath	'praying'
urdu:	ordu:	'Urdu'
usta:d	vɔsta:d	'teacher'

The writers are not consistent in using the symbols which represent the Kashmiri pronunciation but tend to use the spelling system of their

original forms used in Urdu. The Urdu educated speakers try to retain their original pronunciation in their formal speech. The original forms are considered more prestigious than their changed ones.

There are no geminates in Kashmiri. The geminates in borrowed words are reduced to single consonants. Examples are as follows:

Hindi-Urdu	Kashmiri	
khaddar	khədɨr	'cotton cloth'
bacca:	bacɨ	'child'
ganna:	ganɨ	'sugarcane'

The use of only those consonant clusters in the medial and final positions are possible, where the first member is a nasal and the second member of the cluster are: /b/, /d/, /ḍ/, /g/ and /z/. In the initial consonant cluster, the second member is always /r/. Examples are given as follows:

bondu:kh	'gun'
ḍanḍɨ	'stick'
amba:r	'heap'
manzas	'in the centre'
nangɨ	'naked'
amb	'mango'
band	'closed'
konḍ	'thorn'
rang	'colour'
bran	'name of a tree'
pra:n	'soul'
phras	'popular'
grand	'count'
ṭre:n	'train'
tre:š	'drinking water'

Epenthetic vowels /i/ and /ɨ/ are usually inserted for breaking consonant clusters. This applies to the borrowings as well. Examples are as follows:

HU	Kashmiri	Gloss
intza:r	yintiza:r	'wait'
rassm	rasim	'custom'
bhasm	basɨm	'ash'

In the polysyllabic words the use of epenthetic vowels is optional. Examples:

Kashmiri	Gloss
pornas/porɨnas	'read to him/her'
kho:rnakh/kho:rɨnakh	'lifted you up'
karno:vun/karɨno:vun	'made him do'

In writing the above words, under the influence of Urdu, the epenthetic vowel signs are not used. This does not make the distinction clear. Most of the problems related to inconsistencies are as a result of the borrowings from the Perso-Arabic sources and their conventional original forms in Urdu. There are other inconsistencies too. An important one is the representation of /e/ in the final position in the words like /cha/, /me/, /tse/ etc. They are written like: چےٚ چٚ , مےٚ مٚے , ژےٚ ژٚے It is recommended to adopt the shorter forms.

Transliteration and technical symbols

The Perso-Arabic script with the additional diacritics can successfully be used in the transliteration of the language texts from other languages into Perso-Arabic. With the use of Urdu as the medium of instruction at the school and collage levels, a large number of terms and symbols used in the areas of science and technology are being used. No efforts have yet been used in using Kashmiri as the medium of instruction at the school or collage levels for teaching other subjects. Therefore, the process of the coinage of terms used in science and technology has not yet taken place. No symbols have been devised in the Perso-Arabic script used in Kashmiri. It is believed that whenever there is an opportunity for using the Kashmiri script in this area, the symbols devised in the Perso-Arabic for Urdu can be used for Kashmiri with little or no modifications. The symbols used in science and technology are generally kept very close to their international forms. The process of standardization has to ensure that the symbols devised do not create any confusion and are easily understood by the readers.

Abbreviations

The standardization of abbreviations and punctuation marks also need a serious attention. No standard forms of abbreviations used in the Kashmiri script have emerged so far. The writers use different forms following the guidelines used in writing of abbreviations in the Urdu script. There are two conventions of abbreviations. The native words are usually abbreviated by taking the initial letters following the models used in Urdu. Variation in pronunciation of the words are sometimes ignored and the conventional Urdu abbreviated forms are imposed on the Kashmiri script. The abbreviations borrowed from other languages are mostly translated. The examples of such words are UNESCO, UNO, USA, etc. Standardization of the abbreviations is important in both modes of handwriting as well as printing. The inconsistencies cause

problems in reading and comprehension of such words.

Punctuation marks

The standardization of punctuation marks in the Kashmiri script has also not taken place so far. Punctuation marks are symbolic representations of various linguistic boundaries related to words, clauses, sentences and paragraphs. Most of the Indian languages have developed punctuation marks under the impact of the Western languages. The punctuation marks in the Perso-Arabic script used for Indian languages have also been influenced by this impact. The symbol devised for Urdu script are used for the Kashmiri as well. Keeping in view the structure of the Perso-Arabic script, attempts have been made to devise the symbols which look distinct and are recognizable in reading. This necessitated the use of the dash sign for a full-stop and a reverse shape of a comma sign for a comma. Most of the punctuation marks devised for the script are ignored and are not used consistently.

Printing and Computerization

It is important to look at the efficiency or standard of writing system from the point of view of modern technology such as typewriting, computerization, printing processes, etc.

As pointed out above, there are two modes in Perso-Arabic script: nasx and *nastaaliix*. The nasx is a type of script which is frequently used in the printing of Persian books in Iran. Though occasionally, some books and journals in Urdu are printed using this mode, it has not gained popularity. The nasx fonts have been improved substantially in the computerization of this script. The fonts are certainly much better than those available for hand composing. The design of fonts for printing is open to innovations and a continuing process which will bring it aesthetically close to *nastaliix* mode.

The GIST technology development by the Centre for Development of Advance Computing (CDAC) Pune, has created history as far as the Kashmiri script is concerned. There are no typewriters in Kashmiri. No attempts have ever been made in devising nasx type mode for Kashmiri before the recent computerization. The modern technology has an immediate impact on the standardization of the script. The C-DAC has not yet prepared the *nastalix* script for Kashmiri, but a private venture has been made successfully in this regard. Now the *nastalix* software is prepared and is used for the composing of Kashmiri for printing. The InPage software provides the nastaliix fonts which are now widely used

for Kashmiri. There are, however, certain problems in the conjoining of the letters, and in the representation of the palatal sound in the medial position. There is a need to standardize it and to prepare a spell check for it.

To sum up, the standardization of the Kashmiri script needs a serious attention of the language planners. The symbols devised for representing the additional vowels, consonants, and other peculiar phonetic and phonological characteristics need to be used consistently. Suggestions for their standardization need to be considered seriously. The same is true about the use of transliteration, symbols for the scientific and technological terms, abbreviations of the Kashmiri script will go a long way in the standardization of the orthography and spelling system. The language planners have a prominent role in making the Kashmiri script able to face the challenges of the modern technology in printing.

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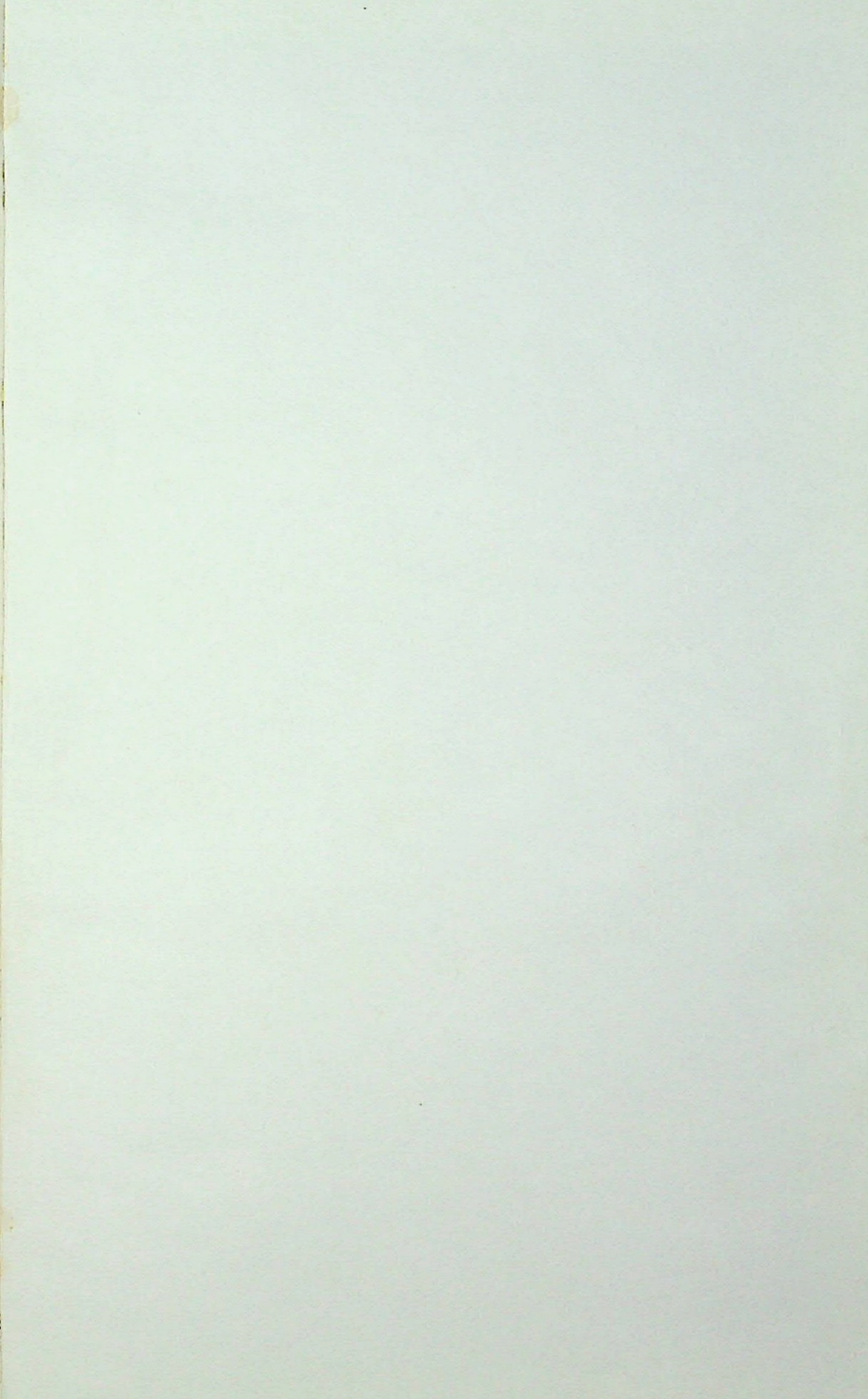
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Studies in Kashmiri Linguistics is a collection of papers related to linguistic and sociolinguistic aspects of Kashmiri. The papers deal with the structure of Kashmiri language, language and society, personal names, kinship terms, modes of greetings, modes of address, lexical borrowings, and standardization of the Kashmiri script.

The students, researchers, teachers of the Kashmiri language, and linguists working in the area of South Asian languages especially in Kashmiri will find this volume useful.

Prof. Omkar N Koul is presently chairman of Indian Institute of Language Studies. His other publications related to Kashmiri include *Linguistic Studies in Kashmiri* (1977), *Aspects of Kashmiri Linguistics* (co-editor, 1984), *An Intensive Course in Kashmiri* (1985), *Spoken Kashmiri: A Language Course* (1987,2005), *A Dictionary of Kashmiri Proverbs* (1992, 2005), *An Intermediate Course in Kashmiri* (1995), *Kashmiri : Cognitive -Descriptive Grammar* (co-author 1997), *Kashmiri Language, Linguistics and Culture : An Annotated Bibliography* (2000), *Topics in Kashmiri Linguistics* (co-editor, 2002), *Modern Kashmiri Grammar* (co-author, 2005), *Kashmiri: A Study in Comparative Indo-Aryan* (co-author, forthcoming).

ISBN 81-86323-20-1 **Rs. 400**



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